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Now, we have three Orissa MSS. before us and also the Kashmirian *Atharvaveda.* All these uniformly read *uditye.* An emendation in total disregard of such uniformity of reading will be, indeed, a very bold job. But compare Patyal's suggestion to the one made by Hoffmann :

> " ..... if a reading is common to both, we have at the very least, an old reading, and we may even maintain that we have an authentic reading of the *Paippalāda Śākhā.* Consequently, if we have a reading common to both branches of transmission, we are obliged to regard it as authentic and to face this fact. "[2]

This, of course, gives a very rigid frame to work within. I discussed in some details cases where we can, to an extent, go beyond this.[3] However, it can by no means be granted that the editor has the right to emend a manuscript-reading without any internal or external evidence in his support. At a time when one had only a single, extremely corrupt and mutilated manuscript of *AVP* the suggestion of *ud ito ye* was inevitable. But how can we uphold this emendation after the discovery of *Or* ? Internal evidences available from *K* and *Or* invariably go for *ud itye.* External evidences are available here only from *AVŚ.* They also do not speak for *ud ito ye* (see below).

The following guidelines which Bhattacharya and after him I myself, followed should be considered by scholars for being adopted when judging the authenticity of a reading of the *Paippalāda-saṃhitā.*

If a reading is common to *Or* and *K* it must be given its due importance. Generally such a reading is to be retained. In the case of its being extremely corrupt or a piece of blunder the editor should consult parallel passages, if any, in *AVŚ* and also other texts in order to satisfy himself that all the parallel passages in non-*Paippalāda* literature point to the fact that the reading common to *K* and *Or* is incorrect. In the absence of such evidence the editor must remain satisfied with the available MS.-reading.[4]

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[2] *Indo-Iranian Journal,* XI (i), 1968.

[3] *AVP* (New Edition) Vol. II, Introduction.

[4] Cf. Winternitz in *Āpastambamantrapāṭha,* Introduction, XV.

" There are numerous cases in these *Mantras* where every editor could be tempted to have recourse to conjectural emendations. But on closer examination he will remember that he has to edit, and not to correct his text, and that even a grammatically impossible reading has to be retained, if it is warranted by the best Authority ".

" Take for instance I, 1, 9. (*khé'nasaḥ khé ráthaḥ khé yugásya śacīpate/apālām indra triḥ pūrtvy ákarat sūryavarcasam /*) Nothing would be easier than to correct this verse and restore the readings found in *RV* VIII. 91.7. There can, of course, be the least doubt that *khe rathaḥ* for *khe rathasya* is absolute nonsense, that the vocative *indra* with the third person *akarat* is grammatically impossible, that *pūrvī* is the correct reading and not *pūrtvī.* Yet the evidence of the MSS. and the explanations of Haradatta leave no doubt that the *faulty* readings are those known among the Āpastambins. "

In the case of *ud itye* none of those conditions is fulfilled. In *ud itas trayo akraman* of *AVŚ trayo* comes after *itas* and *ye* is absent. The *Kauśikagṛhyasūtra* which gives only the *Pratīka ud itaḥ* (*Kauś*. 51.1) does not help in any way. So we get no evidence for *ud ito ye* from any quarter. Moreover, Bhattacharya did not regard *ud itye* as difficult to be accounted for.
Cf. his remarks :—

> *paippalādapāṭhe tu ' ud itye akramann ' ity ṛgbhāgasya ' itye ' gamanāya ' ud akraman ' utthitā ity arthaḥ.*

It may be disputed whether this explanation is correct or not. What is beyond dispute is that the critical apparatus at the disposal of the late editor did not permit him to emend *uditye* to *ud ito ye*.

(2) *AVP* II.39.6
K *ghṛtenāgāparūṃṣitavardhayantī*
B,R *ghṛtenā' ṅgā parūṃṣi tava vardhayanti*
Or ,, ,, ,, ,, *vardhayantī/vardhayanti*
Bh ,, ,, ,, ,, *vardhayantī*

Patyal says, " Bhattacharya reads *vardhayantī* in place of *vardhayanti*. Here *vardhayanti* is undoubtedly the correct reading....... This pāda would mean, ' By means of ghee your limbs and joints increase '. "

Let me first state that Bhattacharya did not invent any new reading not found in the MSS. In the foot-notes he pointed out that one of the *Or* MSS. (viz. Ma) reads *vardhayantī*. This is the reading of *K* also. Thus, here also there is a case of concurrence, though all the *Or* MSS. do not agree with *K*. Still this concurrence could be ignored only if all other sources suggested that *vardhayanti* had been the correct reading. Patyal says, " This verse is also found at *TB* III. 7.13.1, *Vait*. XXIV. I. These texts agree with Barret's emended text. " There is a mistake here. None of the editions of *TB* confirm the assertion made by Patyal. The first half of the verse in *TB* runs as follows,

úpa kṣaranti juhvò ghṛténa
priyā'ṇy áṅgāni táva vardháyantīḥ /

This gives a totally different picture. *Vardhayantīḥ* is not the 3rd person plural present indicative of √ *vṛdh* as thought by Patyal but it is the feminine form of the present participle (nominative plural) of √ vardhi (to cause to grow) < √ vṛdh (to grow). The sense is,

> " The ladles pour forth increasing your own limbs by means of *ghee*. "

The *AVP* version according to *Bh* is

abhi kṣaranti juhvau ghṛtenā
'ṅgā parūṃṣi tava vardhayantī /

This is very near to the *TB* reading. Obviously Bhattacharya considered the unusual absence of the final *ḥ* in *vardhayantī* to be a *Paippalāda* blunder, the *Vaitāna* reading having been a subsequent 'improvement' made upon the original reading.

My own view in this matter is that the possible source of this corruption might have been the *Paippalādasaṃhitā* as read before it was carried to Kashmir and Orissa from the land of the Karṇāṭas.[5] In any case *vardhayanti* cannot be defended here.

The translation as proposed by Patyal also gives rise to certain difficulties. He takes *aṅgā parūṃṣi* to be with the nominative case-ending. But *vardhayantī* (or *vardhayanti*) is the causative form of √ *vṛdh*, meaning 'to increase' that is 'to make one grow.' As a transitive verb it requires an object. Only *aṅgā parūṃṣi* (limbs and joints) can be the object of the verb of which *juhvaḥ* (ladles) is the subject. If, on the other hand, we take *aṅgā parūṃṣi* to be in the nominative case we are left with a transitive verb without any object and an incomplete sentence.

(3) II. 41. 4^{ab}

K *yenadevāssurebhyobhavantimarmattarā*
B *yena devā asurebhyo bhavanti amarmantarāḥ*
R *yena devā asurebhyo bhavanti marmattarā*
Bh *yena devā asurebhyo bhavantyumnavattarāḥ*

Patyal remarks, " Bhattacharyya reads *umnavattarāḥ*, which is quite unintelligible. In this case Barret's emendation seems to be quite reasonable. (cf. e.g. RV III. 32. 4, V. 32.5, VI. 26.3 etc.).

I again like to emphasize that Barret's emendation became a mere conjecture after the *Or*—reading had been known, and that it cannot be accepted any more since all the MSS. (*K* and *Or*) give evidence against it. Moreover, here the correct *AVP*—reading (not necessarily the authentic one) is easily inferrable from the Ṛgvedic parallel—X. 159.4^{ab} = X. 174.4^{ab}. It runs as follows—

yene'ndro havíṣā kṛtvy ábhavad dyumny ùttamáḥ /
" The offering performing which Indra became the best possessed—of—brightness "

For the *AVP* reading we have to make only one phonetic replacement—that of *t* in *bhavantyumna°* by *d*—to arrive at the correct reading. The reconstruction becomes as follows—

yena devā asurebhyo 'bhavan dyummavattarāḥ /
" By which the gods became better—possessed—of—brightness than the Asuras. "

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[5] See Introduction, *AVP*, Vol. II (New Edition).

The suggestion of *amarmantarāḥ* comes from the notion that '*bhavanti*' is the finite verb in the sentence. With (*a*)*bhavan* as the finite verb we are left with a final *timarmattarā* in *K* which, when compared with *Or*'s *tyumnavattarāḥ* and the Ṛgvedic *abhavan dyumny uttamaḥ*, invariably suggests *dyumnavattarāḥ* as having been the correct *AVP* reading. Again, the common replacement of the initial *d* by *t* in *K* and *Or* indicates that the error is ancient. The task of the editor then should be, perhaps, to leave the *Or*-reading as it is with an explanatory note for future translators.

The foregoing discussion will have made it clear that both editorial scruples and grammar demanded that Bhattacharya did not emend common readings of *K* and *Or*. Below I give a few cases where Patyal rather unwarrantedly defends certain emendations of Barret and Raghuvīra against the correct *Or*-readings retained in the new edition. It will be shown thereby that conjecture is a very risky job to make and that it should be avoided as much as possible.

(4) II. 50.2^{b}
K *yāvayimaṃtrāyītesmādyakṣmatasmādāmayata*
B *yāv imaṃ trāyete 'smād yakṣmāt tasmād āmayatāt*
R * * * * * * *āmayata*
Bh *yāv imaṃ trāyaite asmād yakṣmād asmād āmayataḥ*

Patyal remarks, " Bhattacharyya reads *trāyaite* for *trāyete*. In this context *trāyete* is the correct form but not *trāyaite* which is an ungrammatical form. We may read this pāda as : *yāv imaṃ trāyete 'smād yakṣmāt tasmāt āmayataḥ* ".

It is erroneous to say that *trāyaite* is an ungrammatical form. *-aite* is the subjunctive middle 3rd person dual ending. Cf. *Pāṇini* III. 4.95 (*āta ai*) and *VG* § 423 and also note the occurrence of *mādayaite* (*RV*. IV. 41.3^{a}), *yataite* (VII. 93.5^{b}) etc. I hope there should remain no doubt regarding the authenticity and the correctness of *trāyaite* here. Patyal commits the same blunder also while commenting on II. 50. 3^{b} – 5^{b}.

(5) II. 50. 3^{b} – 4^{b}
K *imaṃtrāyāntasmādyakṣmād*
B,R *ya imaṃ trāyante 'smād yakṣmāt*
Bh *ya imaṃ trāyāntā asmād yakṣmād*
5b (and also 1^{b})
K *imaṃtrāyātāsmād*
B,R *ya imaṃ trāyate 'smād*
Bh *ya imaṃ trāyātā asmād*

Patyal remarks : " In the case of Bhattacharyya's readings one may be tempted to think of imperative forms like *trāyantām* and *trāyatām* respectively, but these do not seem to be the required readings. In 2^{b} we have a form *trāyete* in present indicative, this gives us a clue to accept present indicative forms as the right reading. Hence *trāyante* and *trāyate* seem to be the proper readings."

Patyal proceeds from the supposition that in 2^b Barret's emendation-*trāyete* instead of the subjunctive *trāyaite* of *Or* is valid. But as in 2^b in 3^b - 5^b also the forms are of the 3rd person subjunctive *ātmanepada*. Both ancient and modern grammarians hold that *-ātai* is the subjunctive 3rd person *ātmanepada* ending.[6] The diphthong *ai* (< * *āi*) has become ā as it is followed by a vowel. [7]

Concludingly I should state that in spite of all that is said it is not to be denied that Patyal has duly pointed out several printing mistakes and slips in the new edition which should be corrected in the subsequent editions.

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[6] *Pāṇini* III. 4.96. VG § 423. Although *trāyāntai*-subjunctive middle 3rd/plural is strictly grammatical, " no forms of the 2. 3. pl. subj. middle occur in this class ", (*VG* § 423, fn. 4). We are fortunate that *AVP* which Macdonell could not use gives such a form in 3rd person plural.

[7] *Pāṇini* VIII. 3. 19; *VG* § 73.

LEGENDS IN THE BRĀHMAṆAS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE ŚUNAḤŚEPA-LEGEND IN THE AITAREYA-BRĀHMAṆA

By

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India is a ' Home-land ' of popular legends, myths and tales. Even in the most ancient work of the Indians i.e. in the *Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā*, which is mainly a collection of eulogies to gods, many popular legends and myths are hinted at. Legends being illustrative are most effective in a discussion and the Brāhmaṇas also which are discussions on sacrificial ritual often narrate some legend, illustrative and explanatory of some particular ceremonial.

Thus the Brāhmaṇas have become the store-houses of legends and myths. While discussing about the details of the complicated sacrificial system, the Brāhmaṇas narrate various legends. These legends are recorded in what is called the *arthavāda* or the explanatory portion beside the *Vidhi* or the general rules. They are generally told in order to explain or justify the performance of a particular sacrificial act or the whole sacrificial ceremony.

Many of the Brāhmaṇic legends have a Ṛgvedic basis. The ṚV however, does not narrate the full story but simply alludes to the incident. The Brāhmaṇas while elaborating the allusions have sometimes described them in a new light. The original simplicity and purity of concept has been replaced by the complicated and somewhat developed priestly notions that prevailed in the atmosphere of the Brāhmaṇic era. This is significant as it reflects the gradual development in the cultural phase of the Vedic Āryans.

The legends of the Brāhmaṇas offer us a good deal of varieties. Though they are mainly simple inventions from the priestly brains, in order to meet the necessity of enjoining or discouraging the performance of a certain sacrificial act, and hence most of them are symbolical or allegorical narratives, yet there are many other varieties also. Thus some of them are historical or popular, connected as they are with some historical event or some popular personality. Some legends again, may be said to be philosophical, as they try to explain the ' first cause ' of things and other matters connected with the mystery of nature and soul; while a few of them have a didactic purport and convey a lesson impregnant with worldly and political wisdom.

The great importance of these Brāhmaṇic legends is that they being mostly popular stories appeal to all classes of people. They become often the source of many famous works of later Sanskrit writers. They also supply the missing link with the later literature of legends and fables the origin of which would otherwise be difficult to explain. At the same time their sociological as well as the religious aspect is similarly important. In them are reflected the successive stages of ancient culture and civilisation. Very often they reveal to us an out-line of the picture of ancient Indian society. The didactic aspect of some of the legends throws light upon the ethical ideals of the society together with the growth of philosophical doctrines. The easy access between gods and men and the exchange of favours amongst themselves are also reflections of the Brāhmaṇic legends.

Thus the legends which we get in the Brāhmaṇas are not only interesting but important also from many aspects. Such an important legend is the story of *Śunaḥśepa* in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.*[1] While giving an account of the Royal consecration sacrifice, the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* narrates the story of *Śunaḥśepa*, the recitation of which forms an important matter in the programme of the *Rājasūya* sacrifice. It contains *Ṛk*. verses as well as *Gāthā*s and it is said to be recited to the King-designate on the day of his inauguration by the *Hotṛ*. In the end the narrator is presented with a thousand cows and his assistant a hundred. It is also said in the end that one desirous of getting children should listen to the story with devotion.

The story as we get it in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* may be summed up in a nut-shell thus—The childless king Hariścandra of the *Ikṣvāku* dynasty asked the favour of Varuṇa for getting a son on condition that he will offer him in a sacrifice to the same God. Accordingly a son named Rohita was born to him, but when time came to offer him to God Varuṇa, Hariścandra delayed continuously on some ground or other until Rohita had attained his youth. Then at last, the father wished to sacrifice the son, but Rohita now disagreed to it and went to the forest where he wandered about for a year. As a punishment Hariścandra was attacked by dropsy, and Rohita, having heard of it wished to return but was prevented by Indra in the disguise of a Brahmin and wandered in the forest for a second year. Likewise in the second, third, fourth and fifth year, Rohita wished to return to his father, but was again and again prevented by Indra who extolled the good fortune of wanderings. In the sixth year, as Rohita was wandering in the forest, he met the *Ṛṣi* Ajīgarta, who had three sons among whom *Śunaḥśepa* was the middle one. Tortured by extreme hunger, Ajīgarta agreed to sell one of his sons to Rohita, and as the first one was dear to the father and the third one to the mother, Rohita received the second son after giving a hundred cows as his price. With Śunaḥśepa, Rohita went to his father and it was settled that Śunaḥśepa was to be sacrificed instead of Rohita. Everything was prepared for the sacrifice. The father Ajīgarta himself took the charge of binding his son to the sacrificial stake for a second hundred cows and for a third hundred he was prepared with a sharpened knife to slay him. Then Śunaḥśepa without finding any way of rescue, took refuge with the gods and praised in a number of ṚK. verses one after another the most prominent gods of the Vedic pantheon. When finally he was glorifying Uṣas in three verses, the fetters dropped down one after another and with the utterance of the last verse he was free of all bindings and Hariścandra, of his dropsical stomach.

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[1] *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VII. 13-18.

Thereupon the priests received him into the performance of the sacrifice and Śunaḥśepa completed the *Soma*-sacrifice in a simpler way. Sage Viśvāmitra who was acting as a *Hotṛ*-priest in the sacrifice of Hariścandra, adopted Śunaḥśepa as his son and bade his sons to accept Śunaḥśepa as their elder brother. Among the hundred sons, Madhucchandā with his younger fifty accepted the elderness of Śunaḥśepa but the elder ones refused it and were cursed by their father.

The legend of *Śunaḥśepa* must have been very old. It must have been older than the time when the Brāhmaṇa was arranged and the *Ṛgveda* contains several hymns associated with the name of Śunaḥśepa which are actually placed in the mouth of Śunaḥśepa asking divine favour in the Brāhmaṇa. But there are also such hymns in the ṚV where Varuṇa is implored to release the singer, "*Varuṇa Śunaḥśepa yam āhvad gṛbhītaḥ*"[2] or where Agni is addressed as "*Śunaḥś cit śepam niditam sahasrad yūpād amuñcaḥ*"[3]. Such hymns obviously are not fit to be placed in the mouth of Śunaḥśepa of the Brāhmaṇa-legend and they must refer to another much older Śunaḥśepa-legend and according to Roth the story had as a basis an older metrical version.

The *Aitareya version* of the legend contains three parts—(1) the episode of childless king Hariścandra, Varuṇa and Rohita ; (2) the story of Ajīgarta and Śunaḥśepa ; (3) the acceptance of Śunaḥśepa as his son by Viśvāmitra. The *Ṛgveda*, however, gives us no information about Hariścandra, Rohita, Viśvāmitra or Ajīgarta. From these facts, it seems quite possible that though the legend of *Śunaḥśepa* may have an old original basis, its arrangement in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* is of a later period than the *Ṛgveda*. The inclusion of the Ṛgvedic verses in it also points to a later period when the use of the Ṛgvedic verses for sacrificial purposes was being made and accordingly the Ṛgvedic verses were ascribed to be recited by the *Hotṛ* in the course of narrating the legend. The story of Hariścandra was perhaps added later to the main story of the slaughter of Śunaḥśepa and his release through divine favour in order to give the story a completeness, to supply reason for the intended offering of Śunaḥśepa.

Some scholars like Hillebrandt and others try to see in it an evidence of the existence of human sacrifice in ancient India at the consecration of kings. But as there is no clear mention either in the Brāhmaṇas or in the Śrauta-Sūtras about the human sacrifice at the *Rājasūya*, we may take it also as expressing a strong disgust against it by showing the horridness of the incident. In the *Sāṅkhyāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra*[4] the legend has been mentioned as an *ākhyāna* to be recited in the *Puruṣamedha*, though it is also related there as an *ākhyāna* belonging to the *Rājasūya*. The other Śrauta-Sūtras like *Kātyāyana*, *Āpastamba* and *Baudhāyana* too refer to the legend though not, connected with the *Rājasūya* and it has been mentioned in the *Kāṭhaka Brāhmaṇa*[5] also. But all these versions add nothing new to the *Aitareya* legend and seem to have been merely a repetition of the tale as it occurs in the *Aitareya*. Even if we suppose that the story proves the existence of such a custom in ancient India, we have also to admit that the story relates clearly that the sacrifice was not completely carried out and sage Agīgarta was deprived of his son as a punishment and was rudely rebuked for his cruel action. We may at least take the story as suggestive of the moral feeling which had already begun to grow among the priests against such an inhuman practice. The prescription of the performance of *Puruṣamedha* or human sacrifice in only two Śrautasūtras[6] also cannot prove the prevalence of human sacrifice, because most scholars are willing to take the depiction of the *Puruṣamedha* in the two Sūtras as a mere theory which had no actual practice. The inclusion of it in the Sūtra-works seems to Eggeling to be "a mere theoretical scheme intended to complete the sacrificial system." [7]

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[2] *ṚV*. I. 24.12.

[3] *ṚV*. V. 2.7.

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[4] *Sāṁkhyāyana Śrauta-Sūtra*, XVI. 11.1.

[5] *Kāṭhaka Brāhmaṇa*, XIX, 11—*Śunaḥśepo Vai etam ājīgartir Varuṇagṛ-hito'paśyat| tayā sah vai Varuṇa-pāśādamucyata.*

[6] *Kāṭyāyana-Śrauta Sūtra*, 16/1/8, *Sāṅkhyāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, XVI. 10.1.

[7] Eggeling—Sacred Books of the East, XLIV, P. XL.

NEW MATERIAL ON THE *KAUTSA—VYĀKARAṆA**

By

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In 1938, S. L. Katre published an article : "*Kautsa-vyākaraṇa* : A Detailed Notice; Recovery of Kautsa's Authorship" [*New Indian Antiquary*, I]. In this article, Katre gives a detailed comparison of this newly discovered text with Whitney's *SCA*, and concludes that the two texts are virtually identical. Whitney had access to only one manuscript of the *SCA* while preparing his edition, and even the name *Atharva-prātiśākhya* given to this text by Whitney did not appear in the manuscript. It was his own creation. Later on different texts bearing the name *Atharva-prātiśākhya* came up and were subsequently published.[1] There are several manuscripts of the *SCA* in the collection at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, but none of them is with a commentary. In the Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala, Poona, I found two manuscripts of the *KV* [= *Kutasa-vyākaraṇa*]. The first manuscript [*VSM*, Mss No. E4178] is titled *Caturadhyāyī-vyākaraṇa* (*Kautsa-vyākaraṇa*) and has a commentary by Bhārgava-bhāskara. The second manuscript [*VSM*, Mss No. E4179] is titled *Kautsa-vyākaraṇe Pañca-sandhiḥ* and has a commentary by Kṛṣṇadāsa. The first manuscript goes only up to the fourth *pāda* of the first *adhyāya*, while the second manuscript aims at treating only the *sandhi* section of the *KV*. Both of these manuscripts support Katre's conclusion that the *KV* is identical with the *SCA*. The commentary of Kṛṣṇadāsa seldom deviates from the commentary on the *SCA* in Whitney's manuscript, but Bhārgava-bhāskara's commentary provides new material which needs to be studied, if not totally accepted.

Bhārgava-bhāskara gives quite novel explanations of some of the phonetic terms in the *KV* [= *SCA*]. The rule *SCA* (1.29) [*spṛṣṭaṁ sparśānāṁ karaṇam*] says : "The articulator of stops is in contact [with the point of articulation]". The term *sparśa* for stops is actually a semantic development of the original meaning of the word *sparśa* "touch, contact", derived from the root *spṛś* "to touch". This contact is normally understood in terms of the contact of the articulator with the point of articulation. Bhārgava-bhāskara, however, explains the term *sparśa* as :[2] "*sparśa*s are those that touch [i.e. occur in] the word-final position ". The rule *SCA* (1.30) [*īṣat-spṛṣṭam antaḥsthānām*] says : " [The articulator] of semi-vowels is in slight contact [with the points of articulation.] " Bhārgava-bhāskara explains the terms *antaḥsthā* " semi-vowel " and *īṣat-spṛṣṭa* " with slight contact " as follows :[3] " The semi-vowels are called *antaḥsthā* " intermediate " because they occur [only] inside a word and not in the word-final position. It is said that [the effort is] *iṣat-spṛṣṭa* " with slight contact ", because they are never seen in a word-final position followed by a gap (*virāma*), but they slightly touch [i.e. sometimes occur in] the word-final position in the *kṣaipra* and *visarga-sandhi* ," Both of these explanations are, in a way, abnormal. In this context, worth noting is Whitney's comment on the *SCA* (1.30) :[4]

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* This paper was presented to the One Hundred and Eighty Fifth Meeting of the American Oriental Society held in Columbus, Ohio, in April, 1975.

[1] *Atharva-prātiśākhyam*, ed. by Shastri, Vishva Bandhu Vidyarthi published by the Panjab University, Lahore, 1923; *Atharva-prātiśākhyam*, ed. by Surya Kanta, Lahore, 1936, reprint edn. from Delhi, 1968.

[2] *padāntaṃ spṛśanti te sparśāḥ*, (*VSM*, Mss No. E 4178, folio 8).

> " The name by which the semi-vowels *y*, *v*, *r*, *l* are called—namely *antaḥsthā* ' intermediate, standing between '—is generally explained as indicating that the sounds in question, in the arrangement of the alphabet, stand between the mutes and the spirants. The Böhtlingk-Roth lexicon, however (*sub verbo*), defines it to mean ' occurring only in the interior of a sentence, never at its end '. This latter interpretation is exceedingly unsatisfactory : in the first place, the definition would be as true of the spirants and aspirates as of the semi-vowels ; in the second place, it would not be true of the *l* ; in the third place, no letter could be called *antaḥsthā* in this sense which could occur at the beginning of a sentence, as all the semi-vowels do. "

Bhārgava-bhāskara's explanation is somewhat different from the one criticized by Whitney, but the criticism is applicable here as well. It is definitely not the intended meaning of the term *antaḥsthā*. [5]

The rule *SCA* (1.31) [*ūṣmaṇāṁ vivṛtaṁ ca*] *says* : " [The articulator] of sibilants is also open ". The word " also " (*ca*) implies, according to the commentary in Whitney's manuscript, that it is both *īṣat-spṛṣṭa* " with slight contact " (continued from the *SCA* (1.30)) and *vivṛta* " open ". Whitney says that this is " a rather awkward way of saying, apparently, that its position is neither very close nor very open ".[6] Bhārgava-bhāskara's text of the *KV* does not have this *ca* " also ", but his explanation of the term *vivṛta*, in this rule, is very strange. For some reason, he takes the word to be *vikṛta* rather than *vivṛta*. Then he tries to find out as to why the sibilants could be called *vikṛta*.

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[3] *padasyāntas tiṣṭhanti na tu padānte ' to ' ntaḥsthāḥ/....padānta-virāme noiva dṛśyante/ kṣaipra-visarga-sandhau īṣan manāk padāntaṁ spṛśanti/ata uktam īṣat-spṛṣṭam iti/*, Ibid.

[4] *SCA*, p. 30.

[5] " Is it not more likely that these sounds were named " intermediate " in reference to the mode of their formation, as being neither by a complete contact, like the full mutes, nor by an open position like the vowels? The name *antaḥsthā* would then be virtually accordant with our own " semi-vowel ". Whitney on the *SCA*, Ibid.

[6] Ibid.

He says :[7] " They are not seen in the word-final position in their own real form, but they become transformed [lit. crippled] having attained the form of the *k*-series, *ṭ*-series, *t*-series or of a *visarga*. The sibilants are called *vikṛta*, i.e. they are sick (*rugṇa*)." What Bhārgava-bhāskara says about sibilants in the word-final position is true, and yet it is difficult to see why he misreads *vikṛta* for *vivṛta*. Actually other references in his commentary indicate that he did know the reading *vivṛta*.[8]

Some of the rules in the *SCA* have remained quite unintelligible to Whitney, where Bhārgava-bhāskara offers valuable help. Whitney translates the rule *SCA* (1.41) [*naikāraukārayoḥ sthāna-vidhau*] as :[9] " Not so, however, with *ai* and *au*, in a rule of position. " He further remarks :[10] " What the meaning and value of the rule is, is not altogether clear : I can see no other application of it than to forbid the inclusion of *ai* among the palatals only, and of *au* among the labials only, since they are both throat sounds as well. " Whitney holds, following the commentary in his manuscript, that the rule deals with *ai* and *au*. Bhārgava-bhāskara, on this rule, gives a much clearer exposition :[11]

" In the context of making a *pluta* " extra-long " replacement, the sounds *e* and *o* are not to be treated as single sounds. Then what [should be done]? The sound *a* becomes extra-long, and then the short *i* and the short *u* are used, respectively. In the *Taittirīya* [tradition], [this rule applies] also to *au* in the word *yajñapatau*. In the Pāṇinian system, the rule P.8.2 106 [*plutāv aica id-*

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[7] *padānte svarūpeṇa na dṛśyante, kvacit kavarga-ṭavarga-tavargatāṃ visargatvaṃ ca samprāpya vikṛtā bhavanti/.... ūṣmāṇo vikṛtā rugṇā ity arthaḥ/*, (*VSM*, Mss No. E 4178, folio 8).

[8] See : Fn. 18.

[9] *SCA*, p. 35.

[10] Ibid.

[11] *pluta-samaye sthāna-vidhau kartavye/ekārasya/okārasya ca/eka-varṇavad vṛttir na tiṣṭhati/kiṁ tarhi/akāraḥ plutaḥ syāt/tataḥ paraṁ kramāt/hrasvaḥ/ikāraḥ ukāraś ca prayujyate/ ......taittirīye/yajñapatau ity aukārasyāpi/plutāv aica id-utau* (P.8.2.106) *iti pāṇinīye caturṇāṃ sandhyakṣarāṇām uktam/atra/sūtre/na/ekāraḥ/na/aikāraḥ/naikāraukārayoḥ/atra okāraḥ/aukāraḥ iti padacchedena caturāṇṃ grahaṇaṁ jñeyam/*, (*VSM*, Mss No. E 4178, folios 10-11). (I have retained the bars as they appear in the Mss.). Kṛṣṇadāsa's commentary on the *KV* (*VSM*, Mss No. E 4179, folios 5, 9) offers a different interpretation of this rule. Apparently, Kṛṣṇadāsa's version of the *KV* seems to have a rule : *sa-sthāna-karaṇaṃ savarṇam* which says that two sounds are homogeneous with each other if they have the same point of articulation and the same (mode of) the articulator. Similarly, he interprets the rules *SCA/KV* (1.31-2) to mean that sibilants and vowels have both the same effort, i.e. *vivṛta* " open ". This would create the possibility of some vowels being homogeneous with sibilants. Kṛṣṇadāsa interprets the *SCA/KV* (1.41) (*naikāraukārayoḥ sthāna-vidhau*) as a rule presenting this homogeneity. Somehow the rule is split in such a way that it includes (almost) all the vowels : $na + \bar{a} + \bar{\imath} + e + aik\bar{a}ra + \bar{u} + \bar{o} + auk\bar{a}rayo\d{h}$. The negation is interpreted by saying that these sounds are not homogeneous with consonants in *sandhi* (= *sthāna-vidhi*). Kṛṣṇadāsa says that the *SCA/KV* (1.41) is parallel to P.1.1.10. Tnis is a very ingenious explanation, but there is little chance of its being true.

utau] applies to all the four diphtongs. In the present rule, [we should split as] *na ekāraḥ na aikāraḥ* [leading to] *naikāraukārayoḥ*. Here, splitting the words with *okāra* [and] *aukāra*, all the four [diphthongs] should be understood as mentioned [in the rule]. "

This is definitely a better explanation. According to this explanation, the *pluta* " extra-long " sound for *e* and *ai* is *ā3i*, and for *o* and *au*, it is *ā3u*. However, Bhārgava-bhāskara's reference to Pāṇini is somewhat confusing. P. 8.2.106 [*plutāv aica id-utau*] refers to *aic*, which stands only for *ai* and *au*, and it teaches an exactly opposite procedure. It says that when *ai* and *au* become extra-long, the element *a* stays as it is, while *i* and *u* become extra-long, yielding the sounds *a-ī3* and *a-ū3*. The next rule, P.8.2.107. [*eco'pragṛhyasyādūrāddhūte pūrvasyārdhasyād uttarasyedutau*] applies to the extra-long replacements for *ec* i.e. *e*, *o*, *ai* and *au*, in a situation of calling somebody from nearby. In this case, we have the first *a* changing to extra-long *ā3*, and the second half as simple *i* and *u*. This resembles Bhārgava-bhāskara's explanation. Though we are not free from doubts, Bhārgava-bhāskara's explanation adds to our information.

Whitney and the commentary of Kṛṣṇadāsa on the *KV* [12] consider some of the rules in the *KV/SCA* as being without any special restrictions, while Bhārgava-bhāskara holds that they operate under specific conditions. For instance, the rules *SCA* (1.34-6) are as follows :

SCA (1.34) [*ekāraukārayor vivṛtatamam*] : " In the case of *e* and *o*, it is very widely open ".

SCA (1.35) [*tato'py ākārasya*] : " And even more so, in the case of *ā*. "

SCA (1.36) [*saṁvṛto 'kāraḥ*] : " The sound *a* is a closed sound ".

Normally, these rules are considered to be exceptions to the general rule *SCA* (1.32) [*svarāṇāṁ ca*] which says that the vowels are *vivṛta* " open ". First, Bhārgava-bhāskara's reading for 1.34 is : [13] *ekāraukārayor vivṛtataram, aikāraukārayor vivṛtatamam,* " The effort for *e* and *o* is more open, while for *ai* and *au* it is most open ". Bhārgava-bhāskara holds that the special pronunciations prescribed in these rules occur only if these sounds occur in the word-final position, such that they are followed by a gap (*virāma*). In other positions, these sounds have the same effort as prescribed by the general rule *KV/SCA* (1.32). He says : [14]

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[12] (*VSM*, Mss No. E 4179, folio 5).

[13] (*VSM*, Mss No. E 4178, folio 8).

[14] *virāme prayatna-viśeṣam āha—ekāraukārayor vivṛta-taram, aikāraukārayor vivṛtatamam/ ....tato'py ākārasya..../pūrvaṃ svarāṇāṃ sāmānyād ākārasya īṣad-vivṛtaḥ prayatna ukta eva/ virāme viśeṣam āha/tato'pi pūrva-prayatnād api/adhikam karaṇam ākārasya virāme syāt/.... saṃvṛto'kāraḥ..../pūrvaṃ vivṛta-prayatnaḥ/akārasyoktaḥ/sa tu avirāme jñeyaḥ/avasāne/akārsya saṃvṛta-prayatno jñātavyaḥ/tathaivāha bhagavān pāṇiniḥ/a a iti/akāraḥ avasāne a iti bhavati/ saṃvṛto bhavatīty arthaḥ/....agnim/ca/*,Ibid., folios 8-9.

"The different effort, when a gap follows, is thus explained : "[The effort] for *e* and *o* is more open, and for *ai* and *au* it is most open." .. "[The effort] for *ā* is still more open." .. Previously, as a vowel in general, the slight-open effort for *ā* has been explained. A different [effort], when a gap follows, is explained now. When a gap-follows, the articulator for *ā* is more open than the previously explained effort [for the vowels]. .. "The sound *a* is a closed sound". Previously, the open effort of *a*, [as a vowel in general], has been explained. That should be understood as occurring when there is no gap following. When a gap follows, the effort for *a* should be understood as being "closed". Thus says the respected grammarian Pāṇini, i.e. P. 8.4.68 [*a*, *a*]. [This means that], when a gap follows, *a* becomes a closed *a* sound. .. [For instance], *agni*, *ca*."

This passage expresses quite novel notions concerning pronunciation of vowels. As we shall see, Bhārgava-bhāskara holds, that, in general, all vowels are *īṣad-vivṛta* "slightly open," rather than "open," as all other texts would indicate. However, when these vowels are not followed by any other sound, then they have these specifically indicated efforts. He even interprets P. 8.4.68 [*a a*] to suit his purpose. That is quite contrary to the Pāṇinian tradition. Actually, the rule means to say that *a* which is treated as an "open" sound, for metalinguistic purposes within the grammar, is reinstated to its closed quality in the natural usage.[15] Thus, the conditional interpretation of these rules as given by Bhārgava-bhāskara is not supported by other texts. It is unclear as to what is the source of these notions in Bhārgava-bhāskara's commentary. Even the present pronunciation of the Vedic texts does not support Bhārgava Bhāskara's views.

The rule *SCA* (1.32) [*svarāṇāṁ ca*] says that vowels are *vivṛta* [the word being continued by force of *ca* "and" from *SCA* (1.31)]. Thus, according to the *SCA*, vowels are open in general. The next rule, as given by Whitney is: *SCA* (1.33) [*eke spṛṣṭam*], and Whitney translates this rule as : "Some consider it as forming a contact.[16]" He further comments :[17]

"That is, the commentator says, some maintain that in the utterance of the vowels the organs are in contact; others, that they remain open. The former opinion is too obviously and grossly incorrect, one would think, to be worth quoting. No one of the other treatises favours it in any degree."

Whitney was obviously puzzled by the reading *eke spṛṣṭam* in his manuscript, and perhaps the words occurred in the same sequence in the commentary. One cannot imagine how could vowels have contact like stops. On reading this section over and over again, I felt the rule must read *eke / asprṣṭam*, where the initial *a* of *asprṣṭam* can be deleted by the normal rules of *sandhi*. This way the rule would mean that, according to some, in the case of vowels, the articulator is without contact with the point of articulation. Probably Whitney's manuscript never used an *avagraha* to mark loss of *a* in *sandhi*. I checked about five manuscripts of the *SCA* in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, and found that they never use an *avagraha* to mark loss of *a*. However, the two manuscripts of the *KV* in the Vaidika Saṁśodhana Mandala, Poona, [Nos: E4178 and E4189] do use *avagraha* sign and clearly give the rule as *eke'sprṣṭam*. Thus, some considered vowels to be *vivṛta* "open", while others considered them to be *asprṣṭa* "without contact."

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[15] See : Deshpande (1972), p. 226, 233.

[16] *SCA*, p. 31.

[17] Ibid.

Bhārgava-bhāskara offers two explanations of this rule. He says :[18]

"[Some] important teachers say that the articulator for all vowels is without contact. The two lips never touch each other, i.e. the mouth is never closed. This is also meant by saying that the mouth remains open. Thus, *asprṣṭa* is only a synonym of *vivṛta*. To indicate distinctness of vowels and to remove all doubts, a different [synonymous] name of the articulator is mentioned.

Or, *asprṣṭa* "without [the word] *sprṣṭa*". We should understand the effort for vowels as being *īṣad-vivṛta* "slightly open", by removing the word *sprṣṭa* from the word *īṣat-sprṣṭa* [in the *SCA* (1.30)], and having continued the word *vivṛta* [from the *SCA* (1.31) into the *SCA* (1.32)] by the force of *ca* "and". This is the proper meaning, as [the term] *īṣad-vivṛta* is seen in many other texts."

Bhārgava-bhāskara's second interpretation is absolutely wrong. No text ever considers vowels as being slightly open, though this term is used in some late texts for sibilants. The first interpretation is also strange. The term *asprṣṭa* has nothing to do with lips not touching each other in the pronunciation of vowels. It rather refers to the articulator not touching the point of articulation.

It is quite clear that Bhārgava-bhāskara considers *asprṣṭa* and *vivṛta* as being synonymous words. Even modern scholars have failed to make any significant distinction between the two terms. For instance, W. S. Allen says :[19]

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[18] *mukhyāḥ ācāryāḥ svaramātrasya/asprṣṭaṃ karaṇam āhuḥ/na sprśati parasparam oṣṭha-dvayam/mukha-mudraṇaṃ na bhavatīty arthaḥ/mukhasya vivaraṇe sa evārthaḥ/evaṃ ca/vivṛta-syaivāpara-paryāyaḥ/asprṣṭam iti/svarāṇām pṛthaktva-jñānāya/asandehārthaṃ karaṇasya nāmāntaram uktam/yad vā/asprṣṭam/īṣat-sprṣṭa-śabdāt spāṣṭa-śabdābhāvaṃ kṛtvā cakārād vivṛtam anuvarttya īṣad-vivṛta iti svarāṇām prayatno jñeyaḥ/ayam artha eva samīcinaḥ/bahu-grantheṣv api īṣad-vivṛta-darśanāt/*(*VSM*, Mss No. E 4178, folio 8). I have kept the bars as they appear in the Mss.

[19] Allen, W. S. (1953), p. 24-5.

> " Maximal closure is referred to as *spṛṣṭa*, 'touching' and minimal closure as *vivṛta*, 'opened',....The process of minimal closure", or 'non-contact' (*aspṛṣṭa*) provides the phonetic criterion for the distinction of vowels (*svara*) from consonants."

Here Allen translates *vivṛta* as "opened" and *aspṛṣṭa* as "non contact", but treats both to be "minimal closure", thus removing any significant functional difference. If this were the real case, then it is difficult to understand why the *SCA* should care to mention the "non-contact" view as an alternative held by others, in contrast to the "open" view held by the author himself ? In the whole range of Indian phonetics, we find that some texts accept only *vivṛta* "open" classification' some accept only *aspṛṣṭa* "non-contact" classification, while some texts show a synthetic approach. Each of these two classifications also undergoes changes within its own scope. In what follows, we shall briefly review these details.

The *Gopatha-brāhmaṇa* (1.24) uses the phonetic terms *prayatna* "effort", *sthāna* "point of articulation", *anupradāna* "emitted material" and *karaṇa* "articulator." Thus we know that the notion of *prayatna* "effort" existed at the time of the *Gopatha-brāhmaṇa*, but we have no specific details. The *Aitareya-āraṇyaka* (3.2.1) uses the term *sparśa* for stops. This term is self-expressive, since it stands for those sounds which have *sparśa* "contact" between the point of articulation and the articulator. This is an indication of the *prayatna* "effort" of stops. In the *Chāndogya-upaniṣad* (2.22.5)[20] we find the following passage : "All vowels should be pronounced *ghoṣavat* 'voiced' and *balavat* 'with strength.' All sibilants should be pronounced not as if eaten up or thrown out, but well open (*vivṛta*)." The term *vivṛta* "open" may have been used in a non-technical sense. However, if it is used in its technical sense, then there are two possibilites. It could either refer to glottal openness (*vivṛta-kaṇṭha*), or to openness as an internal effort (*vivṛta-prayatna*), i.e. the gap between the point of articulation and the articulator. The traditional commentators like Śaṅkara and Raṅgarāmānuja accept the second alternative, while Max Müller has mentioned both the possibilities.[21] Thus, we may say that *vivṛta* could have been used in the sense of *vivṛta-prayatna*. In that case, we have *sparśa* and *vivṛta* as the two earliest known types of internal efforts.

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[20] *sarve svarā ghoṣavanto balavantaś ca vaktavyāḥ/....sarve ūṣmāṇo'grastā anirastā vivṛtā vaktavyāḥ/*,*Chāndogya-upaniṣad*, 2.22.5.

[21] *Chāndogya-upaniṣad*, with Śaṅkara's commentary, *Ānandāśrama* Sanskrit Series, 14, p. 113; *Chāndogya-upaniṣad*, with Raṅgarāmānuja's commentary, *Ānandāśrama* Sanskrit Series, 63, p. 322. Also : " The opening, *vivṛta*, may mean two things, either the opening of the vocal chords (*kha*), which imparts to the *uṣmans* their surd character (Rig. *Prāt.* 709), or the opening of the organs of pronounciation (*karaṇa*), which for the *ūṣmans* is *aspṛṣṭaṃ sthitam* (Rig. *Prāt.* 719), or *vivṛta* (*Ath. Prāt.* I.31; *Taitt. Prāt.* II.5). "Max Müller, *The Upaniṣads*, Pt. I., *Sacred Books of the East*, I, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1879, p. 34., Fn. 3. It is difficult to

The *RPR* (13.3)[22] says that vowels, sibilants and the *anusvāra* are *aspṛṣṭa* " without contact ". It uses the terms *vivṛta* " open " and *saṁvṛta* " closed " only in the context of glottal aperture.[23] The *RT* (1.3)[24] considers vowels and sibilants to be *vivṛta* " open ", while *akāra*, *e/aikāra* and *o/aukāra* are considered to be *vivṛtatara* " more open ". The terms *vivṛta* " open " and *saṁvṛta* " closed " are also used for glottal aperture.[25] It is possible that these terms were extended from glottal aperture to internal efforts. The *RT* shows us that the notion of *vivṛta* " open " can be further subclassified in terms of degree of openness, while the notion of *aspṛṣṭa* " non-contact " appears to be a monolithic notion. The *TPR* says[26] that vowels involve *upasaṁhāra* " approximation " between the point of articulation and the articulator, while all the consonants involve *sparśana* " touch, contact "; the sibilants are distinguished from other consonants in that they have the middle of the articulator *vivṛta* " open ". It says that the half-mora of *a* in the beginning of *ai* and *au* is, according to some, *saṁvṛta-karaṇa-tara* " with a more closed articulator ".[27] Thus it may be said that the terms

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choose between the two possibilities. It may be said that vowels are described as *ghoṣvaat* " voiced ", meaning they have *nāda* " resonance " produced by closed glottal aperture (*saṃvṛta--kaṇṭha*, cf. *RPR* (13.1-2), *TPR* (ii.4)). In contrast to this " voiced " character of vowel sibilants are *aghoṣa* " voiceless ", and they share the emission of *śvāsa* " unintonated breath produced by open glottal aperture (*vivṛta-kanṭha*, cf. *RPR* (13.1-2), *TPR* (ii.5)). If we contrast the description of vowels with that of the *ūṣmans*, then *vivṛta* should refer to glottal aperture, rather than to internal efforts. In terms of internal efforts, both vowels and sibilants are *vivṛta* (cf. *vivṛtam svaroṣmaṇām*, *RT* (1.3); *svarāṇām ūṣmaṇāṃ caiva karaṇaṃ vivṛtaṃ smṛtam*, *Pāṇiniya-śikṣā*, verse 21). However, the sibilant *ḥ* is *ghoṣavat* " voiced ", and is produced in a position of the glottis which is between open and closed (cf. *RPR* (13.1-2); *TPR* (ii.6)). The internal effort *vivṛta* " open " is uniform to all the sibilants including *ḥ*. Thus there are supporting arguments for both interpretations, and we cannot be certain in favor of only one of them.

[22] *svarānusvāroṣmaṇām aspṛṣṭaṁ sthitam*, *RPR* (13.3).

[23] *kaṇṭhasya khe vivṛte saṁvṛte vā*, *RPR* (13.1).

[24] *vivṛtaṁ svaroṣmaṇām*, *vivṛtataram akāraikāraukārāṇām*, *RT* (1.3). This second part is rather ambiguous. It is not clear if it refers to *akāra*, *ekāra* and *okāra*, or to *akāra*, *aikāra* and *aukāra*. Secondly, the expression *akāra* is strange. How could short *a* alone be *vivṛatatara* " more open "? Does it somehow stand for *avarṇa*, or is it an error for *ākāra*? The second alternative is supported by the *SCA* (i.35).

[25] *saṁvṛto ghoṣavān*, *vivṛto'ghoṣaḥ*, *RT* (i.3).

[26] *svarāṇāṁ yatropasaṁhāraṣ tat sthānam*, *TPR* (ii.31);
yad upasaṁharati tat karaṇam, *TPR* (ii.32);
anyeṣāṁ tu yatra sparśanaṁ tat sthānam, *TPR* (ii.33);
yena sparśayati taṭ karaṇaṃ, *TPR* (ii.34);
karaṇa-madhyaṁ tu (*ūṣmaṇāṁ*) *vivṛtam*, *TPR* (ii.45)

[27] *saṁvṛta-karaṇa-taram ekeṣām*, *TPR* (ii.27). Chattopadhyaya, K. C., (1974) p. 201, argues that this rule is an interpolation, because the term *saṁvṛta-tara* is used without ever defining *saṁvṭra*. This is not a good argument. The *TPR* has used so many terms without defining, that we may have to consider many rules to be interpolations. However, these texts

vivṛta and *saṁvṛta* are used for internal efforts. They also appear in the context of glottal aperture.[28] The *SCA* considers spirants to be " also *vivṛta* " meaning that they are also *īṣat-spṛṣṭa* " with slight contact ".[29] This is very similar to the notion in the *TPR*. The *SCA* classifies vowels in general to be *vivṛta*, *e* and *o* to be *vivṛtatama* " most open ", *ā* to be " still more open ", and *a* to be *saṁvṛta* " closed ".[30] This is a much finer classification as compared to any of the other *Prātiśākhyas*, and this has been possible because the concept of *vivṛta* " open " yields to further classification in terms of the degree of openness. This cannot be done with " non-contact " (*aspṛṣṭa*), and hence the *SCA* refers to it as an alternative held by others, and does not accept it.

With this background, when we look at Pāṇini's grammar, we can be sure that he must have accepted the notions of *vivṛta* "open" and *saṁvṛta* "closed" in his scheme of internal efforts. The rule P.1.1.9 (*tulyāsyaprayatnaṁ savarṇam*) says that two sounds are homogeneous with each other, if they share the same point of articulation and the same internal effort. We do know details of Pāṇini's phonetic classifications directly from his *Aṣṭādhyāyi*, and the various versions of the *Pāṇinīya-śikṣā* seem to be late compositions belonging to his school.[31] Pāṇini feels that *a* and *ā* may not be homogeneous with each other,

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use terms which were well known in those times without defining them. Simimilarly, Chattopadhyaya, K. C. (1974), p. 201, argues that the short *a* was not a *saṁvṛta* sound for the *TPR*. Whitney on *TPR* (ii.27 and ii.12) expresses a similar view. However, all the three Indian commentators on the *TPR* express the view that *a* was a closed sound, while *ā* and *ā*3 were open sounds. cf. *Tribhāṣyaratna*, *TPR*, p. 55; *Vaidikābharaṇa* on *TPR*, *Government Oriental Library Series*, *Bibliotheca Sanskrita-N*o. 33, Mysore, 1906, p. 73. The *Vaidikābharaṇa* [refers to *TPR* (ii.21) (*akāravad oṣṭhau* (*anādeśe*, from ii.20)] which says that, in the absense of any special instructions, the lips should be like in the utterance of *akāra* " short *a* ". This is an indication that the position of lips was different for *a*, and for *ā* and *ā*3. Otherwise, the *TPR* would have said : *avarṇavad oṣṭhau*. The *Vaidikābharaṇa* on the *TPR* (ii.27) clearly says that according to the *TPR*, the half-mora of *a* in the beginning of *ai* and *au* is *saṁvṛta-karaṇa*, while for some others it was *saṁvṛta-karaṇa-tara*. (p. 82). Also : *Padakramasadanabhāṣya* on *TPR*, *Madras University Sanskrit Series*, 1, Madras, 1930, p. 19-20.

[28] *saṁvṛte kaṇṭhe nādaḥ kriyate*, *TPR* (ii.4); *vivṛte śvāsaḥ*, *TPR* (ii.5).

[29] *īṣat-spṛṣṭam antaḥsthānām*, *SCA* (i.30); *ūṣmaṇāṁ vivṛtaṁ ca*, *SCA* (i.31). Following the commentary in his solitary manuscript, Whitney says : " In the formation of spirants, the organ is both in partial contact and open, a rather awakward way of saying, apparently, that its position is neither very close nor very open. " *SCA*, p. 30. The commentary of Kṛṣṇadāsa on the *KV* interprets these rules to mean that sibilants are *vivṛta* " open ", like vowels. (*VSM*, Mss. No. E 4179, folio 5). For Patañjali's interpretation of this passage, see : Fn. 38.

[30] *svarāṇāṁ ca* (*vivṛtam*), *SCA* (i.32);
ekāraukārayor vivṛtatamam, *SCA* (i.34);
tato'py ākārasya, *SCA* (i.35);
saṁvṛto'kāraḥ, *SCA* (i.36).

[31] Ghosh, Manmohan, *Pāṇinīya-śikṣā*, University of Calcutta, 1938, presents five versions of the versified *Pāṇinīya-śikṣā* and reconstructs the original which he ascribes to Pāṇini.

since *a* is *saṁvṛta* "*closed*" while *ā* is *vivṛta* "*open*". Therefore, Pāṇini pronounces *a* as an open (*vivṛta*) sound in his grammar, and by his final rule P.8.4.68 (*a a*), Pāṇini reinstates the closed *a* in the object language. This is the explanation given by the Pāṇinian tradition.[32] If Pāṇini had accepted the *aspṛṣṭa* "non-contact" classification for vowels, this problem would not have arisen. The problem exists only because Pāṇini has accepted the vowels in general to be *vivṛta* "open", and *a* to be *saṁvṛta* "closed". Both of them share the feature of non-contact. Thus at this stage, the difference between "open" and "non-contact" becomes functionally quite significant. At the same time, Pāṇini is afraid that some vowels might be undesirably homogeneous with certain sibilants, and to avoid that possibility, he makes the rule P.1.1.10 (*nājjhalau*) which says that a vowel is not homogeneous with a consonant.[33] This rule indicates that vowels and sibilants must have the same effort, i.e. *vivṛta* "open". Thus Pāṇini's view appears to be similar to that of the *RT*, except that Pāṇini accepted *a* as a *saṁvṛta* "closed" sound. It must be noted that all these are inferences based on Pāṇini's rules and he has nowhere used these terms explicitly.

Actually it is Kātyāyana who uses the terms *vivṛta* "open" and *savṁṛta* "closed" in the context of vowels.[34] In Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, we find that the terms *saṁvṛta* "closed" and *vivṛta* are used in the context of glottal aperture as well as in the context of internal efforts.[35] He introduces the new terms *saṃvāra* "closure" and *vivāra* "openness" in the context of glottal aperture, which are clearly related to the terms *saṁvṛta* and *vivṛta*.[36] In one

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Dr. Raghu Vira, "Discovery of the Lost Phonetic Sūtras of Pāṇini", *JRAS*, 1931, claims that the versified *Śikṣā* is a late work, while the *Śikṣā-sūtras* published by Swami Dayananda were held as representing the real work of Pāṇini. Ghosh (1938, p. xlvi ff) has criticized these views, while they have been upheld by Yudhishthir Mimamsak, *Saṁskṛta Vyākaraṇa Śāstrakā Itihāsa*, Vol. III., *saṁvat* 2030, Ajmer, p. 62ff. Recently, Madhukar Phatak, *Pāṇinīya-śikṣāyāḥ śikṣāntaraiḥ saha samīkṣā*, Banaras, 1972, p. 14 ff., has argued that neither of the two versions can be ascribed to Pāṇini himself, and both are works of a late period.

[32] Chattopadhyaya, K. C., (1974), claims that for Pāṇini short *a* was an open sound, like *ā* and *ā3*. He thinks that it became a closed sound (*saṁvṛta*) in post-Pāṇinian times under the influence of old Dravidian. Hence the later Pāṇinians devised and inserted P. 8.4.68 (*a a*) into the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. I disagree with this view, and I have extensively dealt with this view in a forthcoming article.

[33] This is what the rule ought to mean. For interpretational problems, see my forthcoming monograph : "*Critical Studies in Indian Grammarians, I, Theory of Homogeneity* (*Sāvarṇya*)", to be published by the Center of South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

[34] *akārasya vivṛtopadeśaḥ ākāra-grahaṇārthaḥ*; *dīrgha-pluta-vacane ca saṁvṛta-nivṛtty-arthaḥ*, *Vārttikas* 1 and 3, on the first *Śiva-sūtra*, *MB*, Vol. I., Sec. I., p. 62, 65.

[35] *vivṛta-kaṇṭhāḥ,....saṁvṛta-kaṇṭhāḥ*, *MB*, Vol. I., Sec. I., p. 153; *vivṛtam ūṣmaṇām, ca, vivṛtam*, *MB*, Vol. I., Sec. I., p. 160; also ; p. 62-66. :

[36] *vivāra-saṁvārau*, *MB*, Vol. I., Sec. I., p. 153. This is related to *vivṛta-kaṇṭhāḥ* and *saṁvṛta-kaṇṭhāḥ* in the same context.

context, he uses the term *vivāra* for general openness, saying that *a* and *ā* differ in their openness.[37] Patañjali also offers other distinctions. He quotes the rules *SCA*/*KV* (1.29-32).[38] He continues the term *īṣat* "slight" from (1.30) into (1.31) which is interpreted to mean that sibilants are *īṣad-vivṛta* "slightly open", in contrast with (1.32) which says that vowels are open. Patañjali uses the term *vivṛtatara* "more open" to describe the components of the diphthongs.[39] Thus it may be said that the three sages utilized the *vivṛta-saṁvṛta* classification, and there is no evidence that they accepted the *aspṛṣṭa* classification.

Then we come to a stage which represents a synthesis of both of these ways of classifying sounds. The *VPR* does not explicitly refer to internal efforts, though it uses the term *āsya-prayatna* "internal effort" in its definition of homogeneity.[40] Uvaṭa on the *VPR* presents to us a synthetic picture of internal efforts. He says that[41] "The short *a* has closure (*saṁvṛtatā*) as its effort, while other vowels have openness (*vivṛtatā*) as their effort. Vowels have non-contact (*aspṛṣṭatā*) as their effort ... Sibilants and the *anusvāra* have half-contact (*ardha-spṛṣṭatā*) as their internal effort." This is an important statement which Uvaṭa ascribes to *Śikṣāvid* "knowers of the *Śikṣās*." This shows how the notion of non-contact (*aspṛṣṭa*) covers both *vivṛta* "open" and *saṁvṛta* "closed." Similarly this notion of non-contact is considerably reduced in its scope compared to non-contact in the *RPR*. The *RPR* says that vowels, sibilants and the *anusvāra* have non-contact, while Uvaṭa's *Śikṣā* authority limits non-contact only to vowels; the sibilants and the *anusvāra* have half-contact (*ardha-spṛṣṭatā*). This development is parallel to *vivṛta* "open" being subclassified into *vivṛta* "open" for vowels and *iṣad-vivṛta* "slightly open" for sibilants. The only difference is that while *iṣad-vivṛta* appears to be a subclassification of *vivṛta*, *ardha-spṛṣṭa* does not appear to be a subclassification of *aspṛṣṭa*.

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[37] *vivāra-bhedāt*, *MB*, Vol. I., Sec. I., p. 63. Kaiyaṭa on this passage explains *vivāra* by the general term *prayatna*. However, his etymology *vivārayati vikāsayati āsyam iti vivāraḥ prayatnaḥ* is not convincing. The term seems to stand for general openness, and *vivārabhedāt* simply means : "due to the difference in (the degree of) openness".

[38] *spṛṣṭaṁ sparśānāṁ karaṇam īṣat-spṛṣṭam antaḥsthānām/vṛivtam ūṣmaṇām/īṣad ity anuvarttate/svarāṇāṁ ca/vivṛtam/īṣad iti nivṛttam/*, *MB*, Vol. I., Sec. I., p. 160 (on P. 1.1.10) For different interpretations, see: Fn. 29. Limaye, V. P. *Critical Studies on the Mahābhāṣya*, Hoshiarpur, 1974, pp. 57-8, says that Patañjali probably refers to the *Āpiśali-śikṣā-sūtras*. He quotes a passage from Vṛṣabhadeva's commentary on the *Svopajña-vṛtti* on Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya*, where the above quotation from the *Mahābhāṣya* is ascribed to a *Śikṣā*. However, there is more resemblance between the *MB* passage and the *SCA* (i. 30-32), than between the *MB* and the *Āpiśali-śikṣā-sūtras: spṛṣṭa-karaṇāḥ sparśāḥ/īṣat-spṛṣṭa-karaṇā antaḥsthāḥ/īṣad-vivṛta-karaṇā ūṣmāṇaḥ/vivṛta-karaṇāḥ svarāḥ Śikṣā-sūtrāṇi*, edited by Yudhishthir Mimamsak, Ajmer, *Saṁvat* 2024, pp. 3-4. Actually the text of the *Āpiśali-śikṣā* as we have it already has *īṣad-vivṛta* for sibilants, and it does not stand in need of any interpretation. It seems possible that the present version of the *Āpiśali-śikṣā* is based on Patañjali's classification. If the pre-Pāṇinian Āpiśali really had *īṣad-vivṛta* for sibilants, and *vivṛta* for vowels, it seems hard to understand why Pāṇini should not have accepted this classification. Pāṇini formulated P. 1.1.10 (*nājjhalau*) only because vowels and sibilants had the same internal effort. For more discussion on this point, see: *Critical Studies in Indian Grammarians, I, Theory of Homogeneity*, Madhav Deshpande, forthcoming.

[39] *sandhy-akṣareṣu vivṛtatvāt, vārttika*; *yad atrāvarṇaṁ vivṛtataraṁ tad anyasmād avarṇāt/ye apīvarṇovarṇe vivṛtatare te anyābhyām ivarṇovarṇābhyām/*, *MB*, Vol. I., Sec. I., p. 84; *avarṇasya tarhi aicoś ca savarṇa-saṁjñā prāpnoti/(na)/ vivṛtatarāvarṇāv etau/*, Ibid., p. 155. The traditional Indian grammarians attribute a sevenfold classification of internal efforts to Patañjali. These seven are *vivṛta*, *īṣad-vivṛta*, *vivṛtatara*, *vivṛtatama*, *saṁvṛta*, *spṛṣṭa* and *īṣat-spṛṣṭa*. cf. *bhāṣya-mate tu santu sapta prayatnāḥ/*, *Laghu-śabdendu-śekhara* by Nāgeśa, edited with six commentaries, by Guruprasad Shastri, *Rajasthan Sanskrit College Series*, 14, Banaras, 1936, p. 103.

[40] *samāna-sthāna-karaṇāsya-prayatnaḥ savarṇaḥ*, *VPR* (i. 43). The *VPR* (i. 29) (*atha śikṣā-vihitāḥ*) indicates that its phonetic classifications are based on certain ancient *Śikṣās*. We can, however, infer some of the internal efforts intended by the *VPR*. The *VPR* (i. 72) (*savarṇavac ca*) says that *a*, *ā* and *ā*3 should be treated as if they are homogeneous with each

The *Pāṇinīya-śikṣā* and the *Varṇa-ratna pradīpikā-śikṣā* offer synthetic presentation of different ways of classification. The *Pāṇinīya-śikṣā* says that vowels and sibilants are *vivṛta* "open", vowels are *aspṛṣṭa* "with non-contact" and sibilants are *nema-spṛṣṭa* "with half-contact."[42] Here the scope of *vivṛta* is larger than that of *aspṛṣṭa*. It appears that this text combines an older notion of *vivṛta* (cf. *RT*) with a younger notion of *aspṛṣṭa*. The *Varṇa-ratna-pradīpikā-śikṣā* presents a classification which is identical with the classification presented

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other. The specific rule indicates that *a* could not normally be homogeneous with *ā* and *ā*3. Uvaṭa on the *VPR* (i.72) says that *a* is *saṁvṛta* "closed" and *ā* and *ā*3 are *vivṛta* "open", and yet the special rule makes them operationally homogeneous with each other. Chattopadhyaya K. C. (1974, p. 201) suggests that this interpretation is wrong, and that the rule only means "that *savarṇa* vowels such as *a*, *ā*, *ā*3, *i*, *ī*, *ī*3, *u*, *ū*, *ū*3, have the same *sthāna* of utterance." This is wrong. With the *VPR* (i. 63) (*hrasva-grahaṇe dīrgha-plutau pratīyāt*), the vowel *a* in the *VPR* (i. 71) (*a-ha-visarjanīyāḥ kaṇṭhe*) itself stands for *ā* and *ā*3, and hence we do not need a separate rule to say that *a*, *ā* and *ā*3 have the same point of articulation. In the *VPR* there is no rule to prohibit undesired homogeneity of vowels and sibilants like P. 1.1.10 (*nājjhalau*), and this indicates that vowels and sibilants had different types of internal efforts. This is supported by Uvaṭa's commentary on the *VPR* (i. 72).

[41] *saṁvṛtāsya-prayatnaḥ akāraḥ/vivṛtāsya-prayatnā itare svarāḥ/aspṛṣṭāsya-prayatnāḥ svarāḥ/..ardha-spṛṣṭāsya-prayatnā ūṣmāṇo' nusvāraś ca/..ayam āsya-prayatnaḥ śikṣāvidbhir ukta iha gṛhyate/*, Uvaṭa on *VPR* (i. 72), p. 29.

[42] *svarāṇām ūṣmaṇāṁ caiva vivṛtaṁ karaṇaṁ smṛtam /*
tebhyo'pi vivṛtāv eṅau tābhyām aicau tathaiva ca //
aco'spṛṣṭā yaṇas tviṣan nema-spṛṣṭāḥ śalaḥ smṛtāḥ /
śeṣāḥ spṛṣṭāḥ halaḥ proktāḥ..//,
verses 21, 38, *Pāṇiniya-śikṣā*, *Śikṣā-saṁgraha*, pp. 380-1.

by Uvaṭa.[43] The *Māṇḍūkī-śikṣā* presents a strange classification. It says[44] that stops are with contact (*spṛṣṭa*), the semi-vowels are with non-contact (*aspṛṣṭa*), the *yamas* are with *saṁvṛta* " closed " articulator, and vowels and spirants are with *vivṛta* " open " articulator. Here we find that *aspṛṣṭa* " non-contact " and *vivṛta* " open " have totally, different contexts, and must represent quite unrelated notions. The *Yājñavalkya-śikṣā* says that[45] stops are with contact (*spṛṣṭa*), while all other sounds are without contact (*aspṛṣṭa*). This is the broadest conception of non-contact (*aspṛṣṭa*) in Indian phonetics.

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[43] *saṁvṛtaṁ vivṛtaṁ tadvad aspṛṣṭaṁ spṛṣṭam eva ca /*
īṣat-spṛṣṭaṁ cārddha-spṛṣṭam āsya-yatnas tu ṣaḍ-vidhaḥ //
akāraḥ saṁvṛto jñeyo vivṛtāś cetare svarāḥ /
aspṛṣṭāsya-prayatnāṣ ca svarāḥ sarve bhavanti hi //
spṛṣṭāḥ sparśās tu vijñeyāḥ antasthā īṣad-utspṛśaḥ /
ardha-spṛṣṭāś ca vijñeyā ūṣmāṇo varṇa-vedibhiḥ //,
verses 39-41, *Varṇa-ratna-pradīpikā-śikṣā*, *Śikṣā-saṁgraha*, p. 120.

[44] *varṇānāṁ tu prayogeṣu karaṇaṁ syāc caturvidham /*
saṁvṛtaṁ vivṛtaṁ caiva spṛṣṭam aspṛṣṭam eva ca //
sparśānāṁ karaṇaṁ spṛṣṭam antaḥsthānām ato'nyathā /
yamānāṁ saṁvṛtam prāhur vivṛtaṁ ca svaroṣmaṇām //.
verses 69-70, *Māṇḍūkī-śikṣā*, *Śikṣā-saṁgraha*, p. 469.

[45] *catur-vidhaṁ karaṇaṁ spṛṣṭam aspṛṣṭaṁ saṁvṛtaṁ vivṛtaṁ ceti /spṛṣṭāḥ sparśāḥ / aspṛṣṭā anye / Yājñavalkya-śikṣā*, ed. by Amaranatha Shastri, Banaras, *Saṁvat* 2019, pp. 150-1. The further context clarifies that *saṁvṛta* and *vivṛta* are used in reference to glottal aperture. The *Yājñavalkya-śikṣā* published in the *Śikṣā-saṁgraha* gives another classification of efforts, which is identical with Uvaṭa on the *VPR* (i. 72). The passage runs as : *ṣaḍ-vidham āsya-prayatnaṁ-saṁvṛaṁ vivṛtaṁ aspṛṣṭaṁ spṛṣṭam īṣat-spṛṣṭaṁ cārdha-spṛṣṭaṁ ceti/akāraḥ saṁvṛto jñeya itare vivṛtāḥ svarāḥ/sarve ca te syur aspṛṣṭāḥ sparśāḥ spṛṣṭāḥ bhavanti hi //īṣat-spṛṣṭās tathāntasthā ūṣmāṇo'rdha-spṛśaḥ . . /Śikṣā-saṁgraha*, p. 32. Amaranatha Shastri's edition, p. 150, refers to this passage as belonging to some manuscripts.

Katre, S. L. (1938) " Kautsa-*vyākaraṇa* : A Detailed Notice ; Recovery of Kautsa's Authorship. " *New Indian Antiquary* I, Bombay, 1938.

KV *Kautsa-vyākaraṇa.*

MB *Vyākaraṇa-mahābhāṣya* by Patañjali, with Kaiyaṭa's *Pradīpa* and Nāgeśa's *Uddyota*, in three vols., Motilal Banarasidas, Delhi, 1967.

RPR *Ṛgveda prātiśākhya*, Pt. I, Text only, ed. by Shastri, M. D., Banaras, 1959.

RT *Ṛktantra*, ascribed to Śākaṭāyana, ed. by Surya Kanta, Lahore, 1939, reprinted from Delhi, 1971.

SCA *Śaunakīyā Caturādhyāyikā*, ed. and translated with notes by W. D. Whitney, New Haven, 1962.

Śikṣā-saṁgraha, a collection of various *Śikṣās*, Banaras Sanskrit Series, Banaras, 1893.

TPR *Taittirīya-prātiśākhya*, with the commentary *Tribhāsyaratna*, ed. and translated with notes, by Whitney, W. D., New Haven, 1868.

VPR *Vājasaneyi-prātiśākhya*, with commentaries by Uvaṭa and Anantabhaṭṭa, *Madras University* Sanskrit Series, 5, Madras, 1934.

VSM Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala, Poona.

ESTIMATING THE TRADITIONS OF VĀLMĪKI RĀMĀYAṆA BY THE PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF THE SYLLABLES OF GĀYATRĪ IN THEM

By

B. N. Bhatt, Baroda

The appearance of twenty-four syllables of *Gāyatrī* at certain intervals of stanzas (generally at the interval of each one thousand stanzas) in *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* was corroborated by the commentary *Tattvadīpikā* by Maheśvaratīrtha followed by the commentary *Bhūṣaṇa* by Govindarāja. The remarks of Maheśvaratīrtha on this point are pertinent. In his introductory remarks at the commencement of *Tattvadīpikā* he says :—

अथ चतुर्विंशत्यक्षरगायत्र्याख्यपरब्रह्मविद्याविलासभूतं रामायणं चतुर्विंशतिसहस्रैः श्लोकैश्चकार । तदिदं व्याक्रियते—तपःस्वाध्यायेत्यादिः गायत्रीवर्णसहितश्लोकसङ्केतः—“ चतुर्विंशतिसङ्ख्याका गायत्रीवर्णसंयुताः । ये श्लोकाः सन्ति तानत्र विलिखामि यथाक्रमम् ॥ श्लोके च प्रतिसाहस्रं प्रथमे प्रथमे क्रमात् । गायत्र्यक्षरमेकैकं स्थापयामास वै मुनिः ॥ गायत्र्यास्त्रीणि चत्वारि द्वे द्वे त्रीण्यथ षट् क्रमात् । चत्वारि सप्तकाण्डेषु स्थापितान्यक्षराणि तु ॥ ” तत्र तदिति गायत्र्याः प्रथमाक्षरम्—तपःस्वाध्यायेति । अत्र तपःशब्देन चित्तप्रसादहेतुभूतं व्रतनियमोपवासादिकर्मोच्यते, “ यस्य ज्ञानमयं तपः ” इति श्रुतेः । तपःशब्देन ब्रह्मविषयकज्ञानमुच्यते । स्वाध्यायशब्देन फलवदर्थावबोधपर्यन्ताध्ययनमुच्यते । तयोर्निरतम्, एकाग्रचित्तम्, अनेन ‘ तप आलोचने ’ इति धातोरुत्पन्नेन तपःशब्देन ज्ञानपर्यायेण “ सत्यं ज्ञानमनन्तं ब्रह्म ” इति ब्रह्मस्मरणात् विशिष्टेष्टदेवतास्मरणरूपं मङ्गलं कृतमित्यनुसन्धेयम् [1] ।

Govindarāja generally follows Maheśvaratīrtha in this respect with slight difference in the explanation of the word तपः. He in his introductory remarks at the commencement of *Bhūṣaṇa* says :—

अस्य श्रीरामायणस्य गायत्र्यक्षरसंख्यानुसारेण चतुर्विंशतिसहस्रग्रन्थसंख्यया प्रवृत्तत्वात् प्रथमसहस्रोपक्रमे तकारः प्रयोक्तव्य इति सत्स्वपि ब्रह्मवाचकेषु शब्दान्तरेषु तपःशब्दस्यैव प्रयोगः । प्रबन्धादौ तकारप्रयोगश्चावश्यकः । तस्य वक्तुर्वाचकस्य च सौख्यकरत्वात् । तथोक्तम्—“ वरतुलाभकरो णस्तु तकारः सौख्यदायकः ” इति । साहित्यचूडामणौ तु “ तकारो विघ्ननाशकः ” इत्युक्तम् । किंच तकारस्य जलं भूतं वृहस्पतिर्देवता । अतः शुभावहोऽनेन प्रबन्धारम्भः ।[2]

Thus it is quite clear that the tradition that speaks of *Rāmāyaṇa* as of the nature of *Vilāsa* of the *Para-Brahma-Vidyā* called *Gāyatrī* made up of twenty-four syllables is as old as the times of Maheśvaratīrtha (Circa 1550[3] A.D.) and may be perhaps older too.

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[1] Vide Gaṅgāviṣṇu Śrīkṛṣṇadāsa, ‘ *Śrīmadvālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa* ’ with four commentaries Part I, Veṅkateśvara Press ed., Bombay, 1935, pp. 5-8.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

The commentary *Bhūṣaṇa* by Govindarāja detects and mentions all the twenty-four syllables of *Gāyatrī* appearing at intervals in the whole of *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* while the commentary *Tattvadīpikā* by Maheśvaratīrtha is available up to the first stanza of *Uttarakāṇḍa* according to Veṅkaṭeśvara edition. The extracts and important readings from the commentary *Tattvadīpikā* for *Uttarakāṇḍa* are published in the Critical edition. Both the commentaries agree in detecting the syllables of *Gāyatrī* appearing in *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* except in one place viz. VI. 68.1 (Veṅkaṭeśvara edition) wherein the 18th syllable of *Gāyatrī* i.e. *Ya* is that which is found in *Rākṣasendṛāya* according to *Tattvadīpikā* and it is that which is found in *Rāvaṇāya* according to *Bhūṣaṇa*.

The syllables of *Gāyatrī* as detected by the two commentators mentioned above relate to the syllables of *Gāyatrī* in approximate forms only and not to the exact forms of syllables as they are found in the *Gāyatrī Mantra* e.g. the first syllable of *Gāyatrī* is *Tat* but only *Ta* is found as appearing in the first stanza of *Bālakāṇḍa* first *Sarga*. Thus there is a mention of the syllable in the approximate way only as shown by the commentators. Similarly the fourth syllable of *Gāyatrī* is *Tur* but only *Tu* is referred to by the commentators as appearing in II. 14.36^{cd}. Thus all the 24 syllables of *Gāyatrī* are shown as appearing in certain stanzas of *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* by the commentators. It seems that they have adopted an approximate way of referring to the syllables and not the exact manner of referring to them. They are quite justified in so doing since as we shall see below some syllables do pose difficulties e.g. the seventh syllable of *Gāyatrī* viz. *Ṇi* or *Ṇ* (if *Vareṇiyam* or *Vareṇyam* is accepted) appearing in II. 99. 25 does not appear as *Ṇi* or *Ṇ* but as *Ṇa* and there is complete unanimity about it amongst all the traditions. Thus we have to accept the approximate way of referring to them by the commentators as a correct-way of referring.

In spite of the justification of the adoption of approximate way of referring to the syllables of *Gāyatrī* by the commentators as many as eighteen syllables of *Gāyatrī* can be traced in those stanzas of *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* as containing the exact syllables of *Gāyatrī*, while only six syllables are found in an approximate condition. The seventeen syllables that are found in their exact forms are syllable numbers 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 20, 21, 22 and 23 i.e. syllables *Sa*, *Vi*, *Tur*, *Va*, *Re*, *Yaṃ*, *Bhar*, *De*, *Va*, *Sya*, *Dhī*, *Ma*, *Hi*, *Naḥ*, *Pra*, *Co* and *Da*. Syllable number 10 viz. *Go* is found in its exact form in the two editions viz. Gujarātī Printing Press edition and Gorakhpur edition. So instead of *Ga* read in other seven editions reading *Plavagarṣabhaḥ* to the exclusion of Gorresio and Lahore editions totally differing from other editions if the reading *Plavagottamaḥ* which is read in Gujarātī Press edition and Gorakhpur edition is preferred then the exact syllable of *Gāyatrī* viz. *Go* which is the tenth syllable is found preserved in tact in IV. 4.3. Thus the total number of syllables of *Gāyatrī* that are found in tact in the stanzas of *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* becomes eighteen. Moreover this renders the second quarter of *Gāyatrī* appear in *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* in tact viz. *Bhargo devasya dhīmahi* (syllable numbers 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16 of *Gāyatrī*) if the 9th syllable appearing at III.47.10 (Veṅkaṭeśvara edition) is taken as *Bhar* as it really is instead of *Bha* only as shown by the commentators in keeping with their method of referring.

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[3] Vide Sastri P. P. S., " Commentators of the Rāmāyaṇa In the Fifteenth, Sixteenth And Seventeenth Centuries " *The Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. XXIII Part I-IV, p. 414.

As shown above the first and seventh syllables of *Gāyatrī* are not exactly appearing in *Rāmāyaṇa* but only *Ta* appears for *Tat* in the case of the first syllable and *Ṇa* appears for *Ṇi* or *Ṇ* in the case of seventh syllable. All other syllables of the first quarter of *Gāyatrī* appear in tact in *Rāmāyaṇa* if the fourth syllable appearing at II.14.36^{cd}-37^{ab} (Veṅkaṭeśvara edition) is taken as *Tur* as it really is instead of *Tu* only as shown by the commentators.

The appearance of the seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth and twenty-fourth syllable of *Gāyatrī* in *Rāmāyaṇa* happens to be approximate. Thus the seventeenth syllable of *Gāyatrī* viz. *Dhi* appearing at *Rāmāyaṇa* VI.50.40 (Veṅkaṭeśvara edition) is found not as *Dhi* but as a part of the conjunct consonant *Ddhi*. The eighteenth syllable of *Gāyatrī* viz. *Yo* i.e. *Yaḥ* appearing at *Rāmāyaṇa* VI.68.1 (Veṅkaṭeśvara edition) is come across as *Ya* only. Thus there is approximate way of referring to this syllable of *Gāyatrī*. Moreover there is a difference of opinion between Maheśvaratīrtha and Govindarāja regarding the syllable in the above-mentioned stanza which represents the syllable of *Gāyatrī*. According to Maheśvaratīrtha it is the syllable *Ya* of *Rākṣasendrāya* in the above stanza which represents *Gāyatrī* while according to Govindarāja it is the same syllable of *Rāvaṇāya* which represents *Gāyatrī*. The nineteenth syllable of *Gāyatrī* viz. *Yo* i.e. *Yaḥ* appearing at *Rāmāyaṇa* VI.81.1 (Veṅkaṭeśvara edition) is come across as *Ya* only. This syllable of *Gāyatrī* is also referred to in an approximate manner. The twenty-fourth syllable of *Gāyatrī* viz. *Yāt* appearing at *Rāmāyaṇa* VII.76.27 (Veṅkaṭeśvara edition) is found as *Yā* only. Just as in the case of the first syllable of *Gāyatrī* viz. *Tat* here also the last part viz. *T* is ignored.

After tracing the syllables of *Gāyatrī* in *Rāmāyaṇa* and after examining them in details we now turn to the examination of their positions or absence in different editions and in different traditions of *Rāmāyaṇa*. Vide the tables given below :

Stanza having the syllable of Gāyatrī with its number as in Veṅkaṭeśvara edition	Madras ed.	Kāśī ed.
१ तपःस्वाध्यायनिरतं तपस्वी वाग्विदां वरम् । नारदं परिपप्रच्छ वाल्मीकिर्मुनिपुंगवम् ॥ I 1.1	I.1.1	I.1.1
२ स तेन परमास्त्रेण मानवेन समाहतः । संपूर्णं योजनशतं क्षिप्तः सागरसंप्लवे ॥ I. 30.17	..I.30.18[7]	...I.30.18[8]
३ विश्वामित्रो महातेजा भूयस्तेपे महत्तपः ॥ I. 63.4[13]	I.63.3^{ad}	I.63.3^{cd}
४ चतुरश्वो रथः श्रीमान् निस्त्रिंशो धनुरुत्तमम् ॥ II. 14.36^{cd}- वाहनं नरसंयुक्तं छत्रं च शशिसन्निभम् । 37^{ab}	II.14.37	II.14.37
५ वर्तते चोत्तमां वृत्तिं लक्ष्मणोऽस्मिन् सदानघः । दयावान् सर्वभूतेषु लाभस्तस्य महात्मनः ॥ II. 44.5	II.44.5	II.44.5

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4 Vide the comments of Govindarāja at the commencement of his Bhāṣya quoted earlier.

5 तपःस्वाध्यायनिरतस्तपस्वी वाग्विदां वरः। नारदं परिपप्रच्छ वाल्मीकिर्मुनिसत्तमः ॥

6 तपःस्वाध्यायनिरतस्तेजस्वी ,, ,, । ,, ,, ,, ॥

7 स तेन परमास्त्रेण मानवेन समाहितः । संपूर्णं योजनशतं क्षिप्तः सागरसंप्लवे ॥

8 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, । ,, ,, ,, ,, ॥

9 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, । ,, ,, ,, ,, ॥

10 गोविन्दराज—अत्र गायत्रीद्वितीयाक्षरं सः ।

11 स तेन शरवेगेन नीतः सागरमूर्धनि । पपाताचलसंकाशो भीत्रेपथुममन्वितः ॥ १.३३.१५ This stanza is not found in Southern recension but is found in Gorresio and Lahore editions. Lahore edition however reads this stanza after I.28.13 which is having *Gāyatrī* exactly.

12 स तेन परमास्त्रेण पावनेन समाहतः । संपूर्णं योजनशतं क्षिप्तो वेगानिलेरितः ॥ १.२८.१३ Here Lahore edition agrees more with Southern recension than with Gorresio's ed.

Kumbha-konam ed.	Gujarātī Printing Press Bombay ed.	Gorresio's ed.	Lahore ed.	Gītā Press ed.	Palghat ed.	Syllable of Gāyatrī appearing in Rāmāyaṇa editions with noticeable differences	Number of stanzas headed by the specific syllable of Gāyatrī according to Palghat edition
I.1.1	I.1.1[4]	I.1.1[5]	I.1.1[6]	I.1.1	I.1.1	त [त्]	1019
..I.30.18[9]	I.30.18[10]	I.33.15[11]	I.28.13[12]	I.30.18	I.30.17	स	893
I.63.3^{cd}	I.63.3^{cd}[14]	I.65.3^{cd}[15]	I.59.3^{cd}[16]	I.63.3^{cd}	I.63.3^{cd}	वि	1083
II.14.36^{cd}-37^{ab}	II.14 36^{cd}-37^{ab}[17]	II.12. *stanza not found*	II.16. *stanza not found*	II.14.36^{cd}-37^{ab}	II.14.36^{cd}-37^{ab}	तु (र्)	1138
II.44.5	II.44.5[18]	II.64.6[19]	II.68.6[20]	II.44.5	II.44.5	व	1020

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[13] In Veṅkaṭeśvara edition I.63.4 is a one-line stanza.

[14] गोविन्दराज—विश्वामित्रो महातेजा भूयस्तेपे महत्तपः इत्यत्र गायत्रीतृतीयाक्षरम् ।

[15] इत्युक्त्वानन्तरं ब्रह्मा जगामाशु यथागतम् । विश्वामित्रोऽपि तच्छ्रुत्वा चचारैव पुनस्तपः ॥ १.६५.३

[16] „ „ „ „ । „ „ „ „ ॥ १.५९.३

[17] गोविन्दराज—अत्र तु इति गायत्र्याश्चतुर्थाक्षरम् ।

[18] गोविन्दराज—अत्र व इति गायत्र्याः पञ्चमाक्षरम् । In Gujarātī Printing Press edition & in all Southern recension and central version editions 27 *Sarga*s intervene between this and the next syllable of *Gāyatrī* which provides a distance nearing 1000 stanzas between these two consecutive syllables.

[19] तस्यानुवर्तते वृत्तं लक्ष्मणोऽपि ममात्मजः । तमप्यर्हसि नैवार्यं शोचितुं भ्रातृवत्सलम् ॥ २.६४.६ Only 9 *Sarga*s intervene between the stanza containing the 5th syllable of *Gāyatrī* and the stanza containing the 6th syllable of *Gāyatrī* in Northern recension but omitting 6th syllable in a parallel stanza in Gorresiò and Lahore editions. Only 332 stanzas intervene between the above-mentioned stanzas in Lahore edition.

[20] अस्यानुवर्तते वृत्तं लक्ष्मणो यो ममात्मजः । तमप्यतो नार्हसि त्वं शोचितुं भ्रातृवत्सलम् । २.६८.६

Stanza having the syllable of Gāyatrī with its number as in Veṅkaṭeśvara edition	Madras ed.	Kāśī ed.
६ द्वारेण वैजयन्तेन प्राविशच्छ्रान्तवाहनः । द्वास्स्थैरुत्थाय विजयं पृष्टस्तैः सहितो ययौ ॥ II. 71.33	II.71.33^{cd}-34^{ab}	II.71.33^{cd}-34^{ab}
७ निरीक्ष्य स मुहूर्तं तु ददर्श भरतो गुरुम् ॥ उटजे राममासीनं जटामण्डलधारिणम् ॥ II. 99.25	II.99.25	II.99.25
८ ते वयं वनमत्युग्रं प्रविष्टाः पितृशासनात् । द्रष्टुमिच्छामहे सर्वे भगवन्तं निवेद्यताम् ॥ III. 12.4	III.12.4	III.12.4
९ मम भर्ता महातेजा वयसा पञ्चविंशकः । अष्टादश हि वर्षाणि मम जन्मनि गण्यते ॥ III. 47.10	III.47.10^{cd}-11^{ab}	III.47.10^{cd}-11^{ab}
१० ततः परमसंहृष्टो हनुमान् प्लवगर्षभः । प्रत्युवाच ततो वाक्य रामं वाक्यविशारदः ॥ IV. 4.3	IV.4.3	IV.4.3

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21 गोविन्दराज—अत्र रे इति गायत्र्यक्षरम् । पञ्चसहस्राणि श्लोकानां गतानि ।

22 इति ब्रुवन्नेव वचो भरतः श्रान्तवाहनः । विवेश तां पुरीं रम्यां द्वाःस्थैः संप्रतिपूजितः ॥ २.७३.२६

23 इति ब्रुवन्नेव वचो भरतः श्रान्तवाहनः । विवेश तां पुरीं रम्यां द्वाःस्थैश्च प्रतिपूजितः ॥ २.७७.२५
The syllable र in रम्यां in Gorresio and Lahore editions cannot be taken as representing *Gāyatrī* syllable because of two reasons viz. it is not the exact syllable of *Gāyatrī* and that there is no support from the commentators to that effect.

24 द्वारेण वैजयन्तेन प्राविशच्छ्रान्तवाहनः । द्वाःस्थैरुत्थाय विजयमुक्तस्तैः सहितो ययौ ॥ २.७१.३३

25 ,, ,, ,, । ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,

26 गोविन्दराज—अस्मिन् श्लोके उत्तरार्धे जटामण्डलधारिणमित्यत्र णकारो गायत्र्याः सप्तमाक्षरं षट्सहस्रं श्लोका गताः ।

27 स विलोक्य मुहूर्तं तु ददर्श भरतो गुरुम् ॥ उटजे राममासीनं जटावल्कलधारिणम् । २.१०८.२३^{cd}-२४^{ab}

28 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, । ,, ,, ,, ॥ २.१३.१२४

Kumbhakonam ed.	Gujarātī Printing Press Bombay ed.	Gorresio's ed.	Lahore ed.	Gītā Press ed.	Palghat ed.	Syllable of Gāyatrī appearing in Rāmāyaṇa editions with noticeable differences	Number of stanzas headed by the specific syllable of Gāyatrī according to Palghat edition
II.71.34	II.71.33[21]	II.73.26[22] *No Gāyatrī*	II.77.25[23] *No Gāyatrī*	II.71.33[24]	II.71.33[25]	रे	870
II.99.25	II.99.25[26]	II.108.23^{cd}-24^{ab}[27]	II.113.24[28]	II.99.25	II.99.25	ण [ण्]	1058
III.12.4	III.12.4[29]	III.18.7[30]	III.16.4[31]	III.12.4	III.12.4	यं	1188
III.47.10	III.47.10^{cd}-11^{ab}[32]	III.53.12[33]	III.52.9[34]	III.47.10	III.47.11	भ (र्)	1202
IV.4.3	IV.4.3[35], [36]	IV.3.4[37] *No Gāyatri*	IV3.3[38] *No Gāyatri*	IV.4.3[39]	IV.4.3	ग (गो)	1124

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29 गोविन्दराज—ते वयमित्यस्मिन् श्लोके यमिति गायत्र्या अष्टमाक्षरं सप्तसहस्रसंख्याकाः श्लोका गताः ।

30 ते वयं मुनिमुद्दिश्य भगवन्तमुपागताः । द्रष्टुमिच्छामहे सर्वे त्वत्प्रसादान्महामुनिम् ॥ ३.१८.७

31 ,, ,, ,, ,, । ,, ,, भगवन्तं निवेद्यताम् ॥ ३.१६.४

32 गोविन्दराज—अस्मिन् श्लोके मम भर्तेत्यत्र भकारो गायत्र्या नवमाक्षरम् । अष्टसहस्रश्लोका गताः ।

33 मम भर्ता महावीर्यो गुणवान् सत्यवाक् शुचिः । रामेति प्रथितो लोके सर्वभूतहिते रतः ॥ ३.५३.१२

34 मम भर्ता तदा ब्रह्मन् वयसा सप्तविंशकः । अष्टादश तु वर्षाणि ममाप्यायुर्विगण्यते ॥ ३.५२.९

35 ततः परमसंहृष्टो हनूमान्प्लवगोत्तमः । प्रत्युवाच ततो वाक्यं रामं वाक्यविशारदम् ॥ ४.४.३

36 गोविन्दराज—अस्मिन् श्लोके प्लवगर्षभ इत्यत्र गकारो गायत्र्या दशमाक्षरम् । नवसहस्रश्लोका गताः ।

37 ततः परमसंहृष्टो हनूमान् मारुतात्मजः । प्रत्युवाचोत्तरं वाक्यं रामं वाक्यविशारदः ॥ ४.३.४

38 रामं स तु महाप्राज्ञो धनुष्पाणिमवस्थितम् । लक्ष्मणेन सह भ्रात्रा हनुमान् वाक्यमब्रवीत् ॥ ४.३.३. However the stanza is quite different from that of the Gorresio's ed.

39 ततः परमसंहृष्टो हनूमान्प्लवगोत्तमः । प्रत्युवाच ततो वाक्यं रामं वाक्यविशारदः ॥ ४.४.३

Stanza having the syllable of Gāyatrī with its number as in Veṅkaṭeśvara edition	Madras ed.	Kāśī ed.
११ स कामिनं दीनमदीनसत्त्वं शोकाभिपन्नं समुदीर्णकोपम् । नरेन्द्रसूनुर्नरदेवपुत्रं रामानुजः पूर्वजमित्युवाच ॥ IV.31.1	IV.31.1	IV.31.1[40]
१२ ततो रावणनीतायास्सीतायाश्शत्रुकर्शनः । इयेष पदमन्वेष्टुं चारणाचरिते पथि ॥ V. 1.1	V.1.1	V.1.1
१३ ततस्तस्य नगस्याग्रे आकाशस्थस्य दन्तिनः । भर्त्रा परिगृहीतस्य जानकी स्कन्धमाश्रिता ॥ V. 27.14	V.27.14^{cd}-15^{ab}[47]	V.27.14^{cd}-15^{ab}[48]
१४ नावमान्यो भवद्भिश्च हरिर्धीरपराक्रमः । दृष्टा हि हरयः पूर्वं मया विपुलविक्रमाः ॥ V. 46.9	V.46.9^{cd}-10^{ab}[54] *No Gāyatrī for 14th syllable* धी	V.46.9^{cd}-10^{ab}[55] *No Gāyatrī for 14th syllable* धी.

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40 स राघवं दीनमदीनसत्त्वं शोकाभिपन्नं समुदीर्णकोपम् । नरेन्द्रसूनुर्नरदेवपुत्रं रामानुजः पूर्वजमित्युवाच । ४.३१.१

41 गोविन्दराज—अस्मिन् श्लोके नरदेवपुत्रमित्यत्र देकारो गायत्र्या एकादशाक्षरम् । दशसहस्रश्लोका गताः ।
Gujarātī Press edition reads समुदीर्णकामम् for समुदीर्णकोपम् in this stanza.

42 स लक्ष्मणस्तद्वचनं निशम्य रामस्य शोकाभिपरिप्लुतस्य । उवाच वाक्यं मतिमानमर्षी रामार्थसिद्ध्यर्थमदीनसत्त्वः ॥ ४.३१.१

43 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, । ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ॥ ४.२३.३६

Lahore ed. reads as in Gorresio's ed.

44 गोविन्दराज—अत्रैकादशसहस्रश्लोका गताः । द्वादशसहस्रस्यादिमोऽयं श्लोकः । अत्र गायत्र्याः द्वादशमक्षरं प्रयुक्तम् । तदवलोकनीयं विद्वद्भिः ।

45 ततो रावणनीतायाः सीतायाः शत्रुकर्षणः । इयेष पदमन्वेष्टुं चारणाभ्यर्चिते पथि ॥ ५.१.१ This syllable of *Gāyatrī* is found in Gorresio's ed. while it is absent in Lahore ed.

46 ततो रावणनीतायाः सीतायाः शत्रुकर्षणः । इयेष पदमन्वेष्टुं चारणाचरिते पथि ॥ ५.१.१.

47 ततस्तस्य नगस्याग्रे ह्याकाशस्थस्य दन्तिनः ॥ भर्त्रा परिगृहीतस्य जानकी स्कन्धमाश्रिता । ५.२७.१४^{cd}-१५^{ab}

Kumbha-konam ed.	Gujarātī Printing Press Bombay ed.	Gorresio's ed.	Lahore ed.	Gītā Press ed.	Palghat ed.	Syllable of Gāyatrī appearing in Rāmāyaṇa editions with noticeable differences	Number of stanzas headed by the specific syllable of Gāyatrī according to Palghat edition
IV.31.1	IV.31.1[41]	IV.31.1[42] *No Gāyatrī*	IV.23.36[43] *No Gāyatrī*	IV.31.1	IV.31.1	दे	1193
V.1.1	V.1.1[44]	V.5.1[45]	IV.60. *stanza not found*	V.1.1[46]	V.1.1	व	1242
V.27.13[49]	V.27.14^{cd}-15^{ab}[50]	V.27 *stanza not found*	V.21.16[51]	V.27.13^{cd}-15^{ab}[52]	V.27.13[53]	स्य	731
V.46.10	V.46.11^{cd}-12^{ab}[56]	V.41.11[57] *No Gāyatrī*	V.42.11^{cd}-12^{ab} [58] *No Gāyatrī*	V.46.11^{cd}-12^{ab}[59]	V.46.9	धी	912

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48 ततस्तस्य नगस्याग्रे ह्याकाशस्थस्य दन्तिनः ॥ भर्त्रा परिगृहीतस्य जानकी स्कन्धमाश्रिता । ५.२७.१४^{cd}-१५^{ab}

49 ,, ,, ,, ,, । ,, ,, ,, ,, ॥ ५.२७.१३

50 ,, ,, ,, ,, ॥ ,, ,, ,, ,, । ५.२७.१४^{cd}-१५^{ab}
गोविन्दराज—अत्र द्वादशसहस्रं श्लोका गताः । त्रयोदशसहस्रस्यादिमोऽयं श्लोकः गायत्र्यास्त्रयोदशमक्षरमत्र बोध्यम् ।

51 ततस्तस्य नगस्याग्रादाकाशस्थस्य दन्तिनः । भर्त्रा परिगृहीतस्य जानकी स्कन्धमाप्लुता ॥ ५.२१.१६

52 ततस्तस्य नगस्याग्रे ह्याकाशस्थस्य दन्तिनः ॥ भर्त्रा परिगृहीतस्य जानकी स्कन्धमाश्रिता । ५.२७.१४^{cd}-१५^{ob}

53 ,, ,, ,, ,, । ,, ,, ,, ,, ॥ ५.२७.१३

54 नावमान्यश्च युष्माभिर्हरिः क्रूरपराक्रमः ॥ दृष्टा हि हरयः पूर्वं मया विपुलविक्रमाः । ५.४६.९^{cd}-१०^{ab}

55 ,, ,, ,, ॥ ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, । ५.४६.९^{cd}-१०^{ab}

56 नावमान्यो भवद्भिश्च कपिर्धीरपराक्रमः ॥ दृष्टा हि हरयः शीघ्रं मया विपुलविक्रमाः । ५.४६.११^{cd}-१२^{ab}
गोविन्दराज—अत्र त्रयोदशसहस्रश्लोका गताः । अयं चतुर्दशसहस्रस्यादिः । धीति गायत्र्याः चतुर्दशाक्षरम् ।

57 हरिरित्येव नोपेक्ष्यः कपिः क्रूरपराक्रमः । दृष्टा हि हरयः शीघ्रा मया विपुलविक्रमाः ॥ ५.४१.११

58 ,, ,, ,, ,, ॥ ,, ,, ,, शूरा ,, ,, । ५.४२.११^{cd}-१२^{ab}

59 नावमान्यो भवद्भिश्च कपिर्धीरपराक्रमः । दृष्टा हि हरयः पूर्वे मया विपुलविक्रमाः । ५.४६ ११^{cd}-१२^{ab}

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Stanza having the syllable of Gāyatrī with its number as in Veṅkaṭeśvara edition	Madras ed.	Kāśī ed.
१५ श्रुत्वा हनुमतो वाक्यं यथावदभिभाषितम् । रामः प्रीतिसमायुक्तो वाक्यमुत्तरमब्रवीत् ॥ VI. 1.1	VI.1.1	VI.1.1[60]
१६ यस्तु सव्यमसौ पक्षं रामस्याश्रित्य तिष्ठति । रक्षोगणपरिक्षिप्तो राजा ह्येष विभीषणः ॥ VI. 28.26	VI.28.26^{cd}-27^{ab}	VI. 28.26^{cd}-27^{ab}
१७ तेजो वीर्यं बलं चौज उत्साहश्च महागुणः । प्रदर्शनं च बुद्धिश्च स्मृतिश्च द्विगुणं तयोः ॥ VI. 50.40	VI. 50.40[68]	VI. 50.40[69]
१८ कुम्भकर्णं हतं दृष्ट्वा राघवेण महात्मना । राक्षसा राक्षसेन्द्राय रावणाय न्यवेदयन् ॥ VI. 68.1	VI. 68.1	VI. 68.1
१९ विज्ञाय तु मनस्तस्य राघवस्य महात्मनः । संनिवृत्याहवात्तस्मात् संविवेश पुरं ततः ॥ VI. 81.1	VI. 81.1	VI. 81.1

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60 श्रुत्वा हनुमतो वाक्यं यथावदनुभाषितम् । रामः प्रीतिसमायुक्तो वाक्यमुत्तरमब्रवीत् ॥ ६.१.१
61 ,, हनूमतो ,, यथावदभिभाषितम् । ,, ,, ,, ॥ ६.१.१
गोविन्दराज—अत्र गायत्र्यक्षरं मकारः ।
62 श्रुत्वा हनूमतो वाक्यं यथावदभिभाषितम् । रामः प्रीतिसमायुक्तमुत्तरं वाक्यमब्रवीत् ॥ ५.७०.१
63 ,, हनुमतो ,, ,, । ,, ,, ,, ॥ ५.६८.१
64 ,, हनूमतो ,, ,, । ,, प्रीतिसमायुक्तो वाक्यमुत्तरमब्रवीत् ॥ ६.१.१
65 गोविन्दराज—अत्र हीति गायत्र्याः षोडशाक्षरम् ।
66 यस्तु पार्श्वमसौ सव्यं रामस्याक्रम्य तिष्ठति ॥ रक्षोगणवृतो भ्राता तवैष स विभीषणः । ६.४.२८^{cd}.२९^{cb}
67 यस्तु सव्यमसौ पार्श्वं रामस्यावृत्य तिष्ठति । ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ॥ ६.४.२७
68 तेजो वीर्यं बलं चौज उत्साहश्च महागुणः । प्रदर्शनं च बुद्धिश्च स्मृतिश्च द्विगुणा तयोः ॥ ६.५०.४०
69 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, । ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ॥ ६.५०.४०
70 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, महागुणाः । ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ॥ ६.५०.४०
गोविन्दराज—अत्र धीरिति गायत्र्याः सप्तदशाक्षरम् । षोडशसहस्रश्लोका गताः ।

Kumbha-konam ed.	Gujarātī Printing Press Bombay ed.	Gorresio's ed.	Lahore ed.	Gītā Press ed.	Palghat ed.	Syllable of Gāyatrī appearing in Rāmāyaṇa editions with noticeable differences	Number of stanzas headed by the specific syllable of Gāyatrī according to Palghat edition
VI.1.1	VI.1.1[61]	V.70.1[62]	V.68.1[63]	VI.1.1[64]	VI.1.1	म	1053
VI.28.27	VI.28.26[65]	VI.4.28^{cd}-29^{ab}[66] *No Gāyatrī*	VI.4.27[67] *No Gāyatrī*	VI.28.26	VI.28.28	हि	911
VI.50.38	VI.50.40[70]	VI.26.20^{cd}-21^{ab}[71]	VI.28.12[72]	VI.50.40[73]	VI.50.41	धि	1081
VI.68.1	VI.68.1[74]	VI.47.1[75]	VI.47.1	VI.68.1	VI.68.1	य [ो]	789
VI.81.1	VI.81.1[76]	VI.60.1[77] *No Gāyatrī*	VI.59.1[78]	VI.81.1[79]	VI.81.1	य [ो]	1335

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71 बलं वीर्यं च तेजश्च तथैवोत्साह एव च ॥ प्रदर्शनं च बुद्धिश्च तदासीद्विगुणं तयोः । ६.२६.२०^{cd}-२१^{ab}

72 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, । प्रहर्षणं ,, ,, ,, ,, ॥ ६.२८.१२

73 तेजो वीर्यं बलं चौज उत्साहश्च महागुणाः । प्रदर्शनं च बुद्धिश्च स्मृतिश्च द्विगुणा तयोः ॥ ६.५०.४०

74 गोविन्दराज—अत्र रावणायेत्यत्र यकारो गायत्र्या अष्टादशाक्षरम् । सप्तदशसहस्रश्लोका गताः ।

75 कुम्भकर्णं हतं श्रुत्वा राघवेण महात्मना । राक्षसा राक्षसेन्द्राय रावणाय न्यवेदयन् ॥ ६.४७.१

76 विज्ञाय तु मनस्तस्य राघवस्य महात्मनः । स निवृत्याहवात्तस्मात् प्रविवेश पुरं ततः ॥ ६.८१.१
गोविन्दराज—अत्र तृतीयाक्षरभूतो यकारो गायत्र्या एकोनविंशतितमाक्षरम् । अष्टादशसहस्रश्लोका गताः ।

77 विद्राव्य वानरानीकमिन्द्रजित्समितिंजयः । संनिवृत्याहवात्तस्मात् प्रविवेश पुरीं ततः ॥ ६ ६० १

78 स विज्ञाय मतं तस्य रावणस्य महात्मनः । ,, ,, ,, ,, ॥ ६.५९.१

79 विज्ञाय तु मनस्तस्य राघवस्य महात्मनः । स निवृत्याहवात्तस्मात् संविवेश पुरं ततः ॥ ६ .८१.१

Stanza having the syllable of Gāyatrī with its number as in Veṅkaṭeśvara edition	Madras ed.	Kāśi ed.
२० मरणान्तानि वैराणि निर्वृत्तं नः प्रयोजनम् । क्रियतामस्य संस्कारो ममाप्येष यथा तव ॥ VI. 112.26	VI. 112.26	VI. 112.26
२१ प्राप्तराज्यस्य रामस्य राक्षसानां वधे कृते । आजग्मुर्ऋषयः सर्वे राघवं प्रतिनन्दितुम् ॥ VII. 1.1	VII. 1.1[84]	VII. 1.1[85]
२२ ततः प्रचोदयन् सूतस्तानश्वान् रुधिरप्रभान् । प्रययौ भीमसन्नादो यत्र रक्षःपतिः स्थितः ॥ VII. 22.8	VII. 22.8	VII. 22.8
२३ विसृज्य च महाबाहुर्ऋक्षवानरराक्षसान् । भ्रातृभिः सहितो रामः प्रमुमोद सुखं सुखी ॥ VII.41.1	VII. 41.1	VII. 41.1
२४ सुरा हि कथयन्ति त्वामागतं शूद्रघातिनम् । ब्राह्मणस्य तु धर्मेण त्वया जीवापितः सुतः ॥ VII. 76.27	VII. 76.27	VII. 76.27

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[80] मरणान्तानि वैराणि निवृत्तं नः प्रयोजनम् । क्रियतामस्य संस्कारो ममाप्येष यथा तव ॥ ६.११०.२५
गोविन्दराज—अत्र श्लोके न इति गायत्र्यक्षरम् ।

[81] विजयान्तानि वैराणि निवृत्ते शान्तिरिष्यते । क्रियतामस्य सत्कारो ममाप्येष यथा तव ॥ ६.९३.३२

[82] ,, ,, निवृत्तं तत्प्रयोजनम् । ,, संस्कारो रावणस्य यथाविधि ॥ ६.९२.५३
However the place of this stanza in Lahore edition is two *Sargas* subsequent to *Vibhīṣaṇavilāpa* i.e. at the end of *Mandodarīvilāpa*. For a similar stanza in Lahore edition vide additional *Sarga* 86 last stanza after *Sarga* 90.

[83] मरणान्तानि वैराणि निवृत्तं नः प्रयोजनम् । क्रियतामस्य संस्कारो ममाप्येष यथा तव ॥ ६.१०९.२५

[84] प्राप्तराज्यस्य रामस्य राक्षसानां वधे कृते । आजग्मुर्मुनयः सर्वे राघवं प्रतिनन्दितुम् ॥ ७.१.१

[85] ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, । ,, ,, ,, ,, ॥ ७.१.१

[86] ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, । ,, ,, ,, ,, ॥ ७.१.१
गोविन्दराज—अत्र प्रेति गायत्र्या एकविंशाक्षरम् ।

[87] प्राप्तराज्यस्य रामस्य राक्षसानां वधे कृते । आजग्मुर्ऋषयस्तत्र राघवं प्रतिनन्दितुम् ॥ ७.१.१

[88] ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, । आजग्मुर्मुनयः सर्वे ,, ,, ॥ ७.१.१

[89] ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, । ,, ,, ,, ,, ॥ ७.१.१

Kumbhakonam ed.	Gujarātī Printing Press Bombay ed.	Gorresio's ed.	Lahore ed.	Gītā Press ed.	Palghat ed.	Syllable of Gāyatrī appearing in Rāmāyaṇa editions with noticeable differences	Number of stanzas headed by the specific syllable of Gāyatrī according to Palghat edition
VI.112.25	VI.110.25[80]	VI.93.32[81] *No Gāyatrī*	VI.92.53[82] *No Gāyatrī*	VI.109.25[83]	VI.112.26	नः	880
VII.1.1	VII.1.1[86]	VII.1.1[87]	VII.1.1[88]	VII.1.1[89]	VII.1.1	प्र	816
VII.22.7	VII.22.7[90]	VII.26.7[91]	VII.25 *No stanza found*	VII.22.8[92]	VII.22.7	चो	855
VII.41.1	VII.41.1[93]	VII.44.1[94]	VII.43.1[95]	VII.41.1	VII.41.1	द	841
VII.76.27	VII.76.27[96]	VII.83.8[97]	VII.79.9[98]	VII.76.27	VII.76.27	या[त्]	764[99]

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[90] ततस्त्वचोदयत सूतस्तानश्वान् रुचिरप्रभान्। प्रययौ भीमसन्नादो यत्र रक्षःपतिः स्थितः ॥ ७.२२.७
गोविन्दराज—ततः प्रचोदयन् सूतस्तान् हयान् रुधिरप्रभानित्यत्र चो इति गायत्री ।

[91] ततः संचोदयन् सूतस्तान् हयान् रुचिरप्रभान् । प्रययौ भीमसन्नादो यत्र रक्षःपतिः स्थितः ॥ ७.२६.७

[92] ततस्त्वचोदयत् सूतस्तानश्वान् रुचिरप्रभान् । ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ॥७.२२.८

[93] गोविन्दराज—अत्र प्रमुमोदेति दकारो गायत्र्यक्षरम् ।

[94] विसृज्य तु महाबाहुर्ऋक्षवानरराक्षसान् । भ्रातृभिः सहितो रामः प्रमुमोद सुखी सुखम् ॥ ७.४४.१

[95] ,, तान् ,, ,, । ,, ,, ,, ,, सुखं सुखी ॥ ७.४३.१

[96] गोविन्दराज—अत्र त्वयेत्यत्र येति गायत्र्यक्षरं चतुर्विंशमित्याहुः ।

[97] सुरा हि कथयन्ति त्वामागतं शूद्रघातिनम् । ब्राह्मणार्थे पराक्रान्तं स च बालोऽपि जीवितः ॥ ७.८३.८

[98] ,, तु ,, ,, ,, । ब्राह्मणस्य च धर्मेण त्वया जीवापितः सुतः ॥ ७.७९.९

[99] The only edition giving the total number of stanzas of each *Sarga* at the end of it from the very beginning of *Rāmāyaṇa* continuously and showing the exact grand total of 24000 stanzas at the end of *Rāmāyaṇa* is the Palghat edition but still I find a deficiency of 2 stanzas in the grand total which may be due to some mistake in recording the numbers (in printing) or in calculation.

Five editions viz. (i) Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, (ii) Kumbhakonam, (iii) Gujarātī Printing Press, (iv) Gītā Press, (v) Palghat edition contain all the 24 syllables of *Gāyatrī*. Gītā Press edition is a northern (actully central) edition while all the rest mentioned above are Southern editions. However there is complete agreement between all of them as regards the syllables of *Gāyatrī* and their positions in *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*

Two editions viz. (i) Madras edition and (ii) Kāśī edition do not have the fourteenth syllable of *Gāyatrī* viz. *Dhī*. Thus they have only 23 syllables of *Gāyatrī*. Gorresio and Lahore editions also do not have the fourteenth syllable of *Gāyatrī*. But all these four editions do not have the 14th syllable of *Gāyatrī* as a result of variant reading *Krūraparākramaḥ* for *Dhīraparākramaḥ* (containing *Gāyatrī* syllable). Thus the acceptance of another reading explains the absence of the required syllable of *Gāyatrī*.

At least two editions viz. Madras edition and Kāśī edition lend their support to *Gāyatrī* excepting only the above case. Thus they also lend their support to the syllables of *Gāyatrī* and their positions in *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* to a very large extent. Madras edition is a southern edition and Kāśī edition a northern (actually central) one. They also have complete agreement in their support for 23 syllables of *Gāyatrī* as well as in absence of support to the 14th syllable of *Gāyatrī* as a result of adopting a different reading,

There is complete agreement among all the above-mentioned nine editions of *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* as regards the existence and positions of *twelve* different syllables of *Gāyatrī* viz. *Ta*, *Vi*, *Va*, *Ṇa*, *Ya*, *Bha*, *Ma*, *Dhī*, *Ya*, *Pra*, *Da*, *Yā* i.e. syllable numbers 1, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 15, 17, 18, 21, 23 and 24. Thus regarding half the total number of syllables of *Gāyatrī* there is complete agreement among all nine editions.

As regards the existence and positions of the *five* syllables of *Gāyatrī* viz. *Sa*, *Va*, *Sya*, *Ya* and *Co* i.e. syllable numbers 2, 12, 13, 19 and 22 there is complete agreement among eight editions excluding Gorresio edition for syllable numbers 2, 13 and 19 and excluding Lahare edition for syllable numbers 12 and 22. However Gorresio edition reads a stanza which can be considered a substitute stanza for the one containing the syllable of *Gāyatrī*. If it is accepted that this substitute stanza in Gorresio's edition also contains the syllable of *Gāyatrī* and so if we include it also then there will be complete agreement among all the above-mentioned nine editions of *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* as regards the existence and positions of *thirteen* different syllables of *Gāyatrī*. This is as a result of the addition of the stanza I. 33.15 of Gorresio edition containing the syllable *Sa* (second syllable of *Gāyatrī*). The said stanza reads:—

स तेन शरवेगेन नीतः सागरमूर्धनि ।
पपाताचलसंकाशो भीवेपथुसमन्वितः ॥

Consequently there will be complete agreement among eight editions as regards the existence and position of the *four* syllables of *Gāyatrī* excluding Gorresio edition for syllable numbers 13 and 19 and excluding Lahore edition for syllable numbers 12 and 22 as mentioned above.

As regards the existence and positions of the six syllables of *Gāyatrī* viz. *Tu*, *Re*, *Ga*, *De*, *Hi* and *Naḥ* i.e. syllable numbers 4, 6, 10, 11, 16 and 20 of *Gāyatrī* there is complete agreement among seven editions excluding Gorresio and Lahore editions.

The question of the absence of the fourteenth syllable of *Gāyatrī* viz. *Dhī* in four editions viz. Madras, Kāśī, Gorresio and Lahore is already discussed before.

The statements made above make it quite clear that there is complete agreement among all the nine editions mentioned above as regards the existence and positions of half the number of syllables (i.e. twelve) of *Gāyatrī* which are found not in the order of succession but rather scattered throughout.

The absence of the syllables of *Gāyatrī* is commonly found in Gorresio and Lahore editions either jointly or severally. Only in case of the absence of the fourteenth syllable of *Gāyatrī* viz. *Dhī* Madras edition and Kāśī edition join hands with Gorresio and Lahore editions.

The above analysis leads us to conclude that the traditions of *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* represented by Gorresio and Lahore editions viz. North-Eastern and North-Western respectively have lost some syllables of *Gāyatrī* and that this loss of the stanzas containing *Gāyatrī* is mostly due to the substitution of similar stanzas in those traditions.

Critically judging the above facts it cannot be said that North-Eastern and North-Western traditions of *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* have preserved the original tradition and that the presence of the other syllables of *Gāyatrī* in other traditions (viz. Central, Southern) is due to interpolation.

Even if it is accepted for argument's sake that North-Eastern and North-Western traditions of *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* represent the original tradition then it becomes very difficult to explain not only the existence of all the syllables of *Gāyatrī* in the Central and Southern traditions but their positions in special fixed contexts also. Normally when once any deviation in tradition takes place from the original tradition one of the two traditions thus coming into existence happens to represent the original tradition and the other represents the deviated tradition. Uniformity cannot be ushered in subsequent to deviation in tradition. Uniformity can be preserved in a tradition but it cannot be introduced after deviation has already taken place in it. The rhapsodists can enrich the narrative by additions but they cannot introduce in special fixed contexts stanzas containing particular syllables of *Gāyatrī* in two different traditions viz. Central and

Southern. Therefore their existence in these two traditions can be explained only if we consider them as preserving the older tradition in a purer form.

A casual glance at the Critical Edition of *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* would make it clear that the MSS. representing North-Eastern or North-Western traditions are generally found to deviate very much from each other even within their own traditions. Of course deviations are met with in all the traditions but they are not so very abundant within Southern and Central traditions themselves.

Moreover the North-Eastern and North-Western traditions do preserve half the number of syllables of *Gāyatrī* and that too without any appreciable change in their context from that of the Central and Southern traditions. If it is argued that it is due to polishing afterwards in the North-Eastern and North-Western traditions after comparing them with the Central or Southern or both the traditions. To that the reply is that how was the polishing done in a haphazard way only when both the other traditions (Central and Southern) had all the stanzas containing all the syllable of *Gāyatrī* in certain fixed contexts ?

The polishing in North-Eastern and North-Western traditions resulting in the loss of stanzas containing some syllables of *Gāyatrī* is corroborated by the fact that in *two* cases North-Eastern joins hands with Southern and Central in reading stanzas with syllable numbers 12 and 22 i.e. *Va* and *Co* of *Gāyatrī* while in *three* cases North-Western joins hands with Southern and Central in reading stanzas with syllable numbers 2, 13 and 19 i.e. *Sa*, *Sya* and *Ya* of *Gāyatrī*.

We now turn to the question of the positions of stanzas containing the syllables of *Gāyatrī* in *Rāmāyaṇa*. As the editor of Palghat edition has mentioned the continuous numbers of stanzas in all the *Sarga*s of that edition I have adopted Palghat edition as the basis for counting the number of stanzas commencing with the specific syllables of *Gāyatrī*. According to the statement made by Maheśvaratīrtha there are twenty-four stanzas containing each one of the twenty-four syllables of *Gāyatrī* which are recorded by him in their proper order and that the sage (Vālmīki) has established each one of the syllables of *Gāyatrī* at the first stanza of each one thousand stanzas of *Rāmāyaṇa*. Thus in the *Bāla* three, in the *Ayodhyā* four, in the *Araṇya* two, in the *Kiṣkindhā* two, in the *Sundara* three, in the *Yuddha* six and in the *Uttara* four syllables of *Gāyatrī* are established.[100]

A careful viewing of the positions of the syllables of *Gāyatrī* as appearing in the tables makes it clear that at present the syllables of *Gāyatrī* are found preserved in majority of cases in certain traditions but they do not appear exactly at the beginning of each one thousand stanzas. They appear either before or after the exact one thousand number of stanzas. This may be explained as due either to additions or difference in the arrangement of stanzas in those traditions or the interval of one thousand stanzas might not be rigidly aimed at by the sage poet. Any way this much is certain that from the point of view of the presence of the syllables of *Gāyatrī* in certain fixed contexts in the Southern and Central traditions these two traditions appear to have preserved the original text in a purer form than the North-Eastern or North-Western traditions might have done.

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[100] Vide the introductory remarks of Maheśvaratīrtha at the commencement of his *Tattvadīpikā*—'*Śrīmadvālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa*' with four Commentaries Part I, Veṅkaṭeśvara Press edition, Bombay, 1935, pp. 5-6.

If it be said that since the syllables of *Gāyatrī* are appearing in 24 different stanzas only so it is not proper to consider some traditions viz. the North-Eastern and North-Western as less authoritative only from the point of view of absence of some syllables of *Gāyatrī* as that sort of omission is very scanty looking to the vast bulk of matter contained in 24000 stanzas. This objection is not valid because it is not only a case of omission of trivial matter but it is a case *of omission of significant syllables placed at specific intervals intentionally by the poet.* In the light of foregoing discussion the presence or absence of the *Gāyatrī* syllables assume decisive importance in deciding the extent of purity of those traditions. At least it serves as an additional and independent evidence to decide the purity and since it supplements the conclusions reached by other evidences as shown before therefore it should be accepted as an additional evidence in deciding the point.

A SCENE FROM THE LIFE OF LORD BUDDHA FROM NĀGĀRJUNAKOṆḌĀ

By

K. RAGHAVACHARY, Nagpur

Nāgārjunakoṇḍā, one of the world famous Buddhist sites on the right bank of the river Kṛṣṇā, is situated at a distance of about 21 Kilometres from Macherla Railway Station and 7 Kilometres from the Nāgārjunasāgar Dam site. It is approachable by motorable roads from both Macherla and the Dam Site. Before the conversion of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā valley into a huge reservoir, it contained a cluster of Buddhist *Vihāras* and a few Hindu temples. In the center of the valley is situated a hill called the hill of Nāgārjuna. Important Buddhist monuments from the valley have been reconstructed on this hill-top and the Buddhist sculptures have been exhibited in the Museum on this hill-top. After the valley had been submerged under the waters of the river Kṛṣṇā, the hill of Nāgārjuna has been just like an Island Museum. It is at this place that an Embossed potsherd with one of the life scenes of Buddha has been picked up by me on my private visit during the year 1970 to this place.

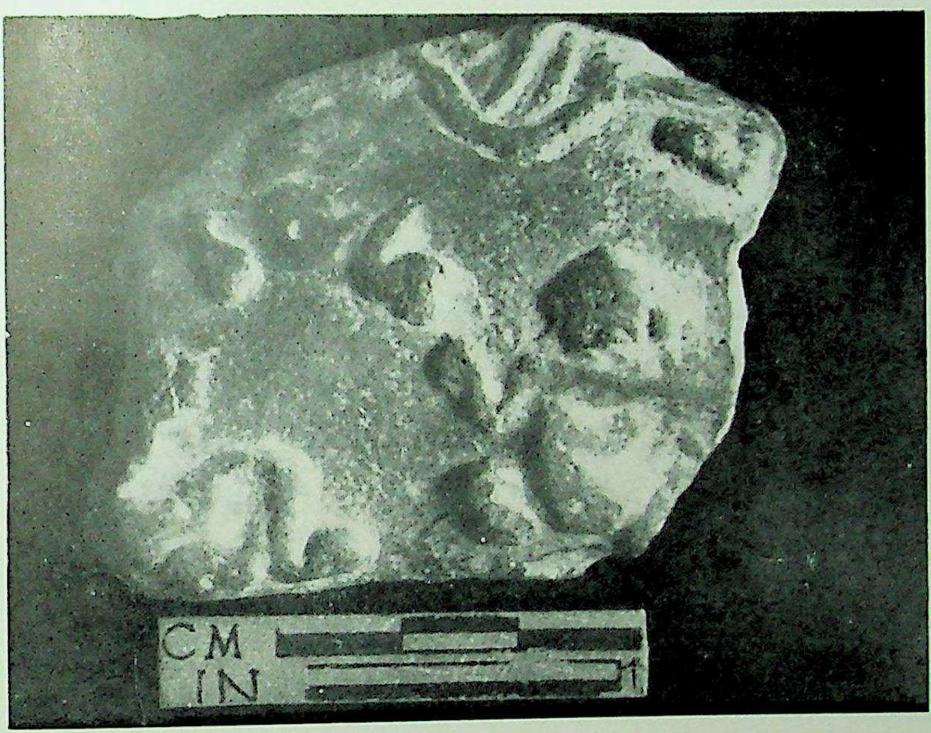
Description of the potsherd :

Fragment of a lid of a redware potsherd medium to coarse in fabric plate. On the potsherd is embossed a scene from the life of Lord Buddha. Since the other parts are missing one cannot say what the entire scene would have been, but from the available fragment it would be easy to reconstruct the events from the partly embossed potsherd.

Scene on the potsherd :

On the potsherd are seen three Dwarf figures and a hand of another dwarf and an oval shaped object with three vertical lines in it. Regarding the dwarf figures, the lower most one seems to be a stout figure with a turban on his head and holding a stick-like object. Regarding their posture they seem to be dancing and the hand of the fourth dwarf is seen near the Oval object.

The scene on the potsherd reminds us of one of the life scenes of Buddha. This scene in particular has been identified with the temptation of Māra on Buddha in order to disturb his meditation. Buddha has been attacked by a normally proportioned *warriors* helped by Dwarf attendants who brandish weapons and sound musical instruments. During one of such occasions that dwarf army on Māra has been dancing and rejoicing when their leader (Māra) has attacked Buddha. Unfortunately one piece with the dancing dwarfs with few musical instruments has been recovered. The oval object has been identified



A Life-Scene of Buddha : Nāgārjunakoṇḍā

with a musical instrument and the stick like one in the hands of the stout dwarf to a flute. Perhaps if the other potsherds on the lid are found they might contain the other scene, of Mārā's attack on Buddha.

The Importance of this embossed pot-sherd :

From the foregoing passages it has been noted that the potsherd is important from more than one points of view that it depicts one of the life scenes of Buddha. So far the life scene of Buddha and other events have been carved on the stone only. In this particular connection the depiction of the Mārā's attack on Buddha on the potsherd clearly shows that an important land mark in the Ceramic industries has been reached by stamping the life scene of Buddha on the pottery. Aiding to that the potters also must have taken keen interest in this sort of embossing work.

SOME REMARKS ON THE TEACHING OF THE SANSKRIT GRAMMAR *

By

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The OIA is the oldest dialect of the Satəm group of the IE language. " Grammatical interest in India arose in the first place in connection with the necessity of preserving intact the sacred texts of the Veda ".[1] In course of time various systems of grammar arose[2] and in the domain of grammatical literature Pāṇini came to occupy an enviable popularity, position and authority. " The whole of the classical literature of Sanskrit is written in a form of language which is regulated to the last detail by the work of Pāṇini and his successors. "[3] Sanskrit has been the vehicle of the transmission of the ancient Indian culture, the source of the MIA and the NIA languages and an important source-material of comparative and historical linguistics in the field of Indo-European linguistics and it is for these and other reasons that the study of Sanskrit becomes useful. It is, however, in recent times that the interest in Sanskrit and its study are found languishing.

It is quite obvious that for the proper study and correct understanding of any language, the grammatical study of the language becomes unavoidable, rather inevitable. Sanskrit is not a spoken language in the sense and degree as any NIA language, *e.g.* Gujarati, Marathi, Hindi etc. and hence in the study and teaching of Sanskrit grammar becomes intrinsic and inseparable for the understanding and appreciation of any piece of Sanskrit literature.

Three principal methods have been in vogue in the teaching of Sanskrit : (1) Pundit Method or the Pāṭhaśālā method, (2) Grammar-Translation Method or Bhandarkar's Method and (3) New Method or direct method or psychological method.[4] In the teaching of Sanskrit how to teach grammar is often discussed, as the students find it difficult and uninteresting with a resultant display of the tendency to aversion and neglecting. In the demesne of the teaching of the Sanskrit grammar different methods have been in vogue, *e.g.* 1. Deductive method. In this method, rules are referred to first, and then the whole process as it gradually evolves. 2. Inductive Method : In this method a number of forms are quoted and then the rule is enunciated therefrom. Both these methods are known as formal methods. 3. Functional Method : In this method, function or use of the language precedes the formal study *i.e.* the language is learnt first and then the grammar is learnt; " so functional teaching of grammar is possible only when the language of which the grammar is to be taught, is already being successfully handled by the person concerned. "[5] " Functional teaching of the grammar of a langnage presupposes the capacity on the part of the pupil to speak and compose freely in the langnage....Functional teaching is possible only after pupils have made some progress in learning a language. "[6]

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* Paper read at the Seminar on " Sanskrit Language and Teaching of Sanskrit Grammar: Old and Modern Methods " at the Sanskrit Conference : Reorientation of the Teaching of Sanskrit, held at Ahmedabad on 26th, 27th and 28th October, 1975.

[1] Burrow T., *The Sanskrit Language*, 1955, p. 47.

[2] *Vide* Upādhyāya Baladeva, *Saṃskṛtaśāstrō kā Itihāsa* (Hindi), pp. 563 ff ; also Belvalker S. K., *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, pp. 12 ff.

[3] Burrow T., *ibid.*, p. 47.

[4] *Vide* for details Apte D. G. & Dongre P. K., *Teaching of Sanskrit in Secondary Schools*, 1960, pp. 36 ff; Huparikar G. S., *The Problem of Sanskrit Teaching*, 1949, Preface, pp. 10 ff.

The modern text-books have the literature—and the relevant grammar—portion in the same lesson or the book is divided into two parts : (i) literature part and (ii) grammar part. In teaching, generally, the formal method is adopted. This is not to deny the practice of teaching by the direct method.

The grammatical interest and activity by the Indians date back far into the past ; however it will be of interest to note that " the first Sanskrit grammar ever written by a European was composed by the German missionary R. Heinrich Roth. "[7] There are grammars by Colebrooke, Carey, Wilkins, Bopp, Benfey, Whitney, Max Müller, Monier Williams, R. G. Bhandarkar and others. " The first grammar treating Sanskrit entirely from the comparative point of view is the excellent work of Prof. J. Wackernagel "[8] and continued by Debrunner, *viz.* Altindische Grammatik. Regarding the contents of grammar to be taught to the modern pupils A. A. Macdonell's remarks will be of some use. He observes that matter of no practical utility should be eschewed and for the purpose of facilitating the study of grammar, the grammatical data of the actual language as have been noted by the scholars down to the present time should be supplied.[9]

The traditional method of approach to the Sanskrit learning is two fold : (i) Northern method and (ii) Southern method. " The Pandits of Northern India are in favour of beginning the study of Sanskrit with ' लक्षण ' or grammar as a science and introducing literature afterwards, those of Southern India favour the teaching of लक्ष्य or literature first accompanied by the minimum of practical grammar necessary for its undestanding, to the study of Sanskrit, he course in the Deccan, the study of grammar as a science through the सिद्धान्तकौमुदी follows the literature." [10]

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[5] Apte D. G. & Dongre P. K., *Ibid.*, p. 72.

[6] *Ibid*, p. 73.

[7] Macdonell A.A., A Sanskrit Grammar for Students, Third Edition, 1927, Introduction, p. xvii.

[8] *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. xviii.

[9] *Ibid.*

According to the Shastri method or the traditional method, "a child is made to learn by rote the *śabdarūpāvalī*, the *Samāsacakra*, the *Amarakośa*, the *Dhāturūpāvalī* etc. in the beginning." [11] The child is also made to learn by heart the Pāṇinian *sūtras*. With this basic equipment the study of the Siddhānta-kaumudī is commenced. It is quite well-known that Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita's Siddhānta-kaumudī belongs to the *prakriyā*-type of grammatical literature on Pāṇini and it has the grammatical arrangement and treatment of topics. It will not be out of place to refer to the Kāśikā of Vāmana and Jayāditya who comment on the *sūtras* in the order as given by Pāṇini. On the relative merit of the Kāśika and the Siddhāntakaumudī Brahmadatta Jijñāsu observes that the study of Pāṇini according to the Siddhāntakaumudī method leads to the easy oblivion of the grammar, because the aphorisms are not studied in the natural order as laid down by Pāṇini, whereas the Kāśikā method does not lead to such a situation. As an easy tool to the study of Sanskrit, he recommends the study of grammar i.e. *sūtras* of Pāṇini in the order of the Aṣṭādhyāyī[12]. For the adults, (age-group 20-25 years) he has also expounded the method of teaching Sanskrit with the help of the simplified Pāṇini-grammar to be followed by the study of passages from the various departments of Sanskrit literature.[13] In short, this is the northern traditional method in its micro aspect in the study of Pāṇini.

It is obvious that when the universities in the Gujarat State prescribe a portion of the Siddhāntakaumudī at the undergraduate level, the study commences at the age of 18, 19 or 20 and not at the age of 7, 8 or 9 as in the traditional system of education, when the minds of the young pupils are plastic to memorize the aphorisms of Pāṇini; but this is not so in the case of the former. This is not to belittle the importance and utility of memorisation in the study of Sanskrit in general and in Pāṇinian study in particular.[14] Moreover, some universities in the Gujarat State have prescribed an introductory course in Sanskrit philology at the undergraduate level. Under these circumstances, one may venture on an adventure of humbly suggesting the linguistic approach in the study of Pāṇini over and above the methodology followed in the present times, as it will lead to the better understanding and appreciation of Pāṇini. It is well-known that linguistic studies in Pāṇini have far advanced and " Pāṇini's A (= Aṣṭādhyāyī) is being looked upon as the first and the best model of description which has a mathematical approach to language ".[15] Whorf remarks that " modern scientific linguistics dates from the rediscovery of Pāṇini by the Western World, as the earlier form of the science anticipated its most recent one ".[16] Sometimes there is " a remarkable modernity "[17] in Pāṇini.

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[10] Hupariker G. S., *ibid.*, p. 114.

[11] *Vide*, *ibid.*, p. 114.

[12] *Kāśikā*, Kāśi Sanskrit Granthamāla No. 37, 1952, Introduction, p. 13.

[13] संस्कृतपठनपाठनकी अनुभूत सरलतमविधि, published by श्रीरामलालकपूर ट्रस्ट, गुरूबाजार, अमृतसर February, 1958, The author styles his experiment as new, wonderful and successful (*ibid*, cover page).

[14] The Sanskrit Commission appointed by the Government of India has also a favourable attitude to memorisation. (*Vide* Report of the Sanskrit Commission, 1956-1957 (1958), pp. 130 ff.

" Grammatical process may involve either the modification of a single form in some way or the combination of more than one form. Under modification are included processes that involve *addition*, *subtraction* or *replacement* of one or more phonemes. The....processes are called *prefixation*, *suffixation* and *infixation*.... If in a given pair of forms nothing at all is added, in contrast to the addition of an affix in other form of the same category, we speak of *zero-affixation*; this is a convenient way of handling, say, such English plural formations as / ʃip / sheep (sg) vs / ʃip / sheep (pl.) as contrasted with / dɔ'g / dog vs / dɔ'gz / dogs "[18]; *i.e.* in the plural formation:

N (Noun)

St (stem)	S_n (suffix$_n$)	
dog	s	= dogs / dɔ'gz /
sheep	$s_n = \phi$	= sheep / ʃip /

In " sheep " (pl.) there is the case of zero-suffixation.

Pāṇini has a linguistic device of " *lopa* " *i.e.* " disappearance of a word or a part of a word enjoined in grammar for arriving at the required forms of a word. "[19] This is a *saṃjñā*[20]. " *Lopa* is possible in the case of both *prakṛti* and

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[15] Misra Vidya Niwas, *The Descriptive Technique of Pāṇini*, 1966, p. 11. *Vide* also : " Indo-European comparative grammar had (and has) at its service only one complete description of a language, the grammar of Pāṇini.......For no language of the past have we a record comparable to Pāṇini's record of his mothertongue, nor is it likely that any language spoken today will be also perfectly recorded ". Bloomfield L., *Language*, v. 270ff. (quoted by Allen W. S. *Phonetics in Ancient India*, 1953, Introduction. p. 1. " Pāṇini's interest....which is a scientific and not a practical one, centres on such grammatical phenomena as are determined by definable conditions. " Thieme P., *Pāṇini and the Veda*, 1935, p. 60.

[16] Whorf B. L., *Language, Thought* and *Reality*, edited by Caroll John B., 1940, p. 232.

[17] Allen W. S., *Sandhi*, Preface, p. 6.

[18] Hall (Jr.) Robert A., *Introductory Linguistics*, 1969, p. 135.

[19] Abhyankar K. V., *A Dictionary of Sanskrit Grammar*, GOS No. 134, 1961, p. 133. *cf. adarśanaṃ lopaḥ* | Pāṇini I.1.52. *Vide* also Allen W. S., ' Zero and *Pāṇini*, *Chatterji Jubilee Volume*, *Indian Linguistics* Vol. XVI, Nov. 1955, pp. 106 ff ; Pandit M. D., " Zero in Pāṇini ", *Journal of the M. S. University of Baroda*, Vol. XI, No.1, April, 1962, pp. 53 ff.

[20] *Cf. Kāśika* on Pāṇini 1.1.52.

pratyaya."[21] The suffixes by which the "disappearance" is laid down are *luk*, *ślu* and *lup*.[22]

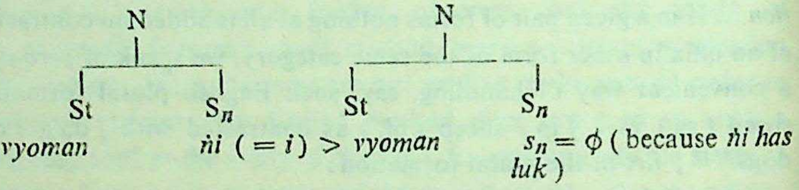
In the phrase *parame vyoman* the phonological statement *vyoman* is locative singular. The grammatical process involved for the locative singular here is as follows :—

the bit *vyoman* + *i* (*ṅi*) by the *sūtra* : *svaujasamauṭchaṣṭābhyāṃbhisṅebhyāmbhyasṅasibhyāmbhyasṅasosāmṅyossup* | (Pāṇini 4.1.2)

= *vyoman* + ϕ *i* i.e. *ṅi* is dropped by the *sūtra*; *supāṃ suluk-pūrvasavarṇāccheyāḍāḍyāyājālaḥ*|(Pāṇini 7.1.39) *cf. vyomni iti prāpte ṅer luk*|[23]

= *vyoman* which is the final word.

Thus :



= *vyoman* + ϕ = *vyoman*.

Amongst the different *saṃjñās* given by Pāṇini *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* may be referred to here. The *guṇa* is *at* (= *a*) and *eṅ* (= *e*) and the *vṛddhi* is *āt* (= *ā*) and *aic* (*ai*).[24] The *guṇa* and the *vṛddhi* refer to the principle of ablaut i.e. vowel gradation or apophony i.e. quantitative alteration. The vṛddhi grade corresponds to the strengthened grade and the guṇa grade to the normal grade in the ablaut system. "The comparative philologists differ from the Indian grammarians in that they regard the guṇa as the normal grade and from it they derive the vṛddhi and zero grades by opposite processes of strengthening and weakening."[25] It will be of interest to note that the terms "guṇated grade" and "vṛddhied grade" are also now being used.

Let us now take some instances where Pāṇini's rules become transparent for the better appreciation in the light of historical and comparative linguistics. The aphorism under illustration is *ho ḍhaḥ* (Pāṇini 8. 2.31) [i.e. *h* will be *ḍh* (i.e. *ḍh* is an *ādeśa*), when *h* is followed by *jhal* i.e. any consonant except a nasal and a semivowel or when it is in a final pause.][26] in the context of the √ *lih*.

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[21] Chatterji, Kshitish Chandra, *Technical Terms and Technique of Sanskrit Grammar*, Part I, 1948, p. 288.

[22] *pratyayasya luk-ślu-lupaḥ*/Pāṇini 1.1.61.

[23] Siddhāntakaumudī on Pāṇini 7.1.39, p. 367 (N.S.P. edition, 1904)

[24] *vṛddhir ādaic*/*aden guṇaḥ*/ Pāṇini 1.1.1-2. *Cf. āt aic ca vṛddhisaṁjñaḥ syāt*/Siddhāntakaumudī on Pāṇini 1.1.1, p. 3; *at eṅ ca guṇasaṁjñaḥ syāt*/Siddhāntakaumudī on Pāṇini 1.1.2, p. 3.

[25] Burrow T., *ibid.*, p. 107.

[26] *hakārasya ḍhakārādeśo bhavati jhali parataḥ padānte ca*/*Kāśikā* on Pāṇini 8.2.31; *vide* also Misra Vidya Niwas, *ibid.*, p. 54 for jh-L.

V (= verb) + S_n
lih + *ti*
= *liḍh* + *ti* by the aphorism *ho ḍhaḥ*/(Pāṇini 8.2.31)
= *liḍh* + *ḍhi* by the aphorism *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*/(Pāṇini 8.4.41)
= *li* φ + *ḍhi* : *ḍh* is dropped by *ḍho ḍhe lopaḥ*/(Pāṇini 8.3.13)
= *le* + *ḍhi* : i > e by *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca*/(Pāṇini 7.3.86)
= *leḍhi* which is the final form.

The following historical linguistic approach explains how and why / h / came to be replaced by / ḍh /. " Before *d*, *dh*, *ẓ* (which may be derived from IE *s* or from the old palatals) is elided with the cerebralisation of the following consonant and the compensatory lengthening of a short vowel. "[27] Thus *léḍhi* " licks " (√ *lih* : Av. raez[28]) < *leẓḍhi i.e. lez'h* + *ti*.[29]

Let us take another example : *edhi* (Imperative, 2 sg. √ *as*, to be) :

V S_n
as + *hi*
= *as* + *dhi* by *hujhalbhyo her dhiḥ* | Pāṇini 6.4.101
= *e* + *dhi* by *śnasor allopaḥ* (Pāṇini 6.4.111) and *ghvasoredvābhyāsalopaś ca* / (Pāṇini 6.4.119)
= *edhi* which is a final form.

The phenomenon of / *e* / coming in place of / *a* / and { *dhi* } in place of { *hi* } are explained historically thus :—" Followed by dental *d*, *dh*, *z* is elided and a preceding vowel *a* is changed to *e*; "[30] *as* + *dhi* > *az* + *dhi* > *edhi*.[31] Cf. Av. *zdī*. Pāṇini describes not only the *bhāṣā* but also notes the *chāndasa* peculiarities, at times, at semantic level also; thus from this point of view the utilisation of Pāṇini's rules helps towards the Vedic interpretation.[32] The illustration under reference is the vocable *prajā'patiḥ* (RV 9.5.9*d*). It is a *ṣaṣṭhītatpuruṣa*-compound which has the second member accented by the general rule *samāsasya*;[33] *cf nṛpáti* in RV 4.20.1. But the vocable *prajā'patiḥ* is accented on the first member and Pāṇini 6.2.18 lays down that when the " divine lordship " is connoted, the accent would shift from the second member to the first member; thus it means the " divine lord of the people ".[35]

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[27] *Ibid.*, p. 93.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 77.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 93.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 93.

[31] Ghosh B. K., *Linguistic Introduction to Sanskrit*, p. 79.

[32] Vide, Bhawe S.S., " Pāṇini's Rules and Vedic Interpretation ", *Indian Linguistics*, Vol. XVI, pp. 237 ff; *The Soma-Hymns of the Ṛgveda*, Part I, 1957, p. 2.

[33] Pāṇini 6.1.223 *cf samāsasyānta udāttaḥ bhavati*/*rājapuruṣaḥ*/*brāhmaṇakambalaḥ*/*Kāśikā* on Pāṇini 6.1.223.

[34] *patyāv aiśvarye*/Pāṇini 6.2.18; on this vide *Kāśika*: *patiśabda uttarapade aiśvaryavācini tatpuruṣe pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati*/*Vide* also the *Siddhāntakaumudi* on Pāṇini 6.2.18, p. 386.

[35] *Vide*, Bhawe S.S., *The Soma-Hymns of the Ṛgveda*, Part I, pp. 25, 28, 29.

THE VIŚVĀMITRĪMĀHĀTMYAM *

By

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The Oriental Institute of the M. S. University of Baroda possesses two manuscripts entitled VIŚVĀMITRĪMĀHĀTMYAM. One of these is incomplete but the other one which is complete is dated V.S. 1844, i.e., 1788 A.D. The incomplete manuscript also, though undated, appears to belong to the same age. The colophons state that it is taken from the *Uttara Khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa*. Some of the colophons give the name KAUŚIKĪ-MĀHĀTMYAM instead of VIŚVĀMITRĪMĀHĀTMYAM.

This work of about 600 verses is divided into 17 *Adhyāya*s. It is written in the usual popular style of the *Purāṇa* and *Māhātmya* Literature of the mediaeval age, mostly in the flowing *Anuṣṭubh* metre which is replaced by longer metres at the close of the *Adhyāya*s and in the *Stuti*s.

Viśvāmitrī is the name of the river flowing near and through the city of Vaḍodarā or Baroda in Gujarāta. It rises from mount Pāvāgaḍha situated in the Pañcamahāla district of Gujarāta and merges into another river called *Ḍhāḍhara* which latter meets the Gulf of Khambhāta or Cambay—thus originating from east Gujarāta, flowing through central Gujarāta down to the western sea. At present *Viśvāmitrī* is a small river whose water is diverted to the Ājawā or Sayājī Sarovara which supplies drinking water to the city of Vaḍodarā. All the same, it might have been a bigger river in the past, before the construction of the Sayājī Sarovara. A number of temples are found on both the banks of this river.

The VIŚVĀMITRĪMĀHĀTMYA, as is evident from its very title, endeavours to relate interesting stories pointing out the importance of the holy places situated on the banks of this river. It also relates interesting stories regarding the origin of the mount Pāvāgaḍha significantly called *Pañcavaktra* and *Pāvakācala* and the river *Viśvāmitrī*.

The work starts with the usual conversation between Sūta and the Sages. Then Sūta quotes the dialogue between Śrīkṛṣṇa and Yudhiṣṭhira. In response to the queries of Yudhiṣṭhira, Śrīkṛṣṇa narrates the different stories. The first and foremost is his curiosity regarding the extra-ordinary fact of Triśaṅku's going to heaven without abandoning the mundane human frame. This is the main story of this work. *Guru* Vasiṣṭha refuses to perform any sacrifice leading the great king of the Solar dynasty to heaven along with his human body. Then he approaches Śakti and other sons of the preceptor. Being cursed by them he turns very ugly tormented by skin-diseases. At last he goes to the hermitage of Viśvāmitra situated near mount *Pañcavaktra* (modern Pāvāgaḍha in Gujarāta). The revolutionary Viśvāmitra takes up the challenge and conduces the king round the different holy places for destruction of sins. Their pilgrimage starts with the *Śāṅkara* forest to the east of the mountain. During the course of the pilgrimage the sage explains to the king the origin and significance of the different places. This narration commences with the *Śāṅkara-vana* where Lord Śiva practised penance for the sake of his wife Satī who burnt herself in her father's sacrificial fire. Then he describes how Kāmadhenu Surabhi once fell into a deep pit wherefrom she came out by filling it with milk, how the sage Viśvāmitra brought Himālaya's son *Pañcavaktra* for filling up the pit permanently and how the *Pīṭha*s of Mahākālī, Ajharā, Nañjharā etc. were established there. The story of the origin of the well-known holy place Kāyāvarohaṇa and Nakuliśa Śiva as also how it came to be regarded as Laghu-Kāśī or miniature Kāśī is found here in pretty details.

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* Paper read and discussed in the Classical Section of the Twenty-eighth Session of the All India Oriental Conference held at Dharwar on November 10-12, 1976.

Among the other holy places situated on the banks of the *Viśvāmitrī* dealt with in this work are Bhīmeśvara, Sārаṇeśvara, Mandāraṇya, Rāmeśvara along with Sītākuṇḍa, Kardameśvara, Candreśvara, Vyāseśvara, the holy Saṅgama with the Sūryajā, the other Rāmeśvara situated on the south of the Saṅgama, Dantakeśa-Vaidyanātha, the Hanumān in Haraṇī which was originally known as Vīrapura, Moṭeśvara to the north of Hanumān and the south of the Saṅgama, Koṭīśvara, Kāmeśvara, Vimaleśvara (probably the same as one situated at present in the compound of the Faculty of Arts in Vaḍodarā or Baroda), Bhīmeśvara, Brahmeśvara, Nāgeśvara Himākhyāyatana, Yāgeśvara and Raktabindvīśvara on the Saṅgama with *Vairiñcī.*

Triśaṅku, purified by the pilgrimage and ablutions in the *tīrthas* on the east of mount *Pañcavaktra*, went to heaven by the power of Viśvāmitra's penance, but the gods pushed him back to the earth. Consequently the great sage starts creating another four-fold *Sṛṣṭi* and declares: "*Svargam anyat kariṣyāmi paśya me tapaso balam* ".

It was a great havoc. Brahmā and Indra approached him with a request to stop the marvel. The resolute sage replied that he would stop his new creation provided Triśaṅku went to heaven without abandoning his human body. To qualify for that, Brahmā asked him to perform a sacrifice on the bank of the *Viśvāmitrī* and have a complete pilgrimage of the holy places on the banks of the holy river in order to dissolve all his sins as does salt in water. Then Viśvāmitra takes the king again for pilgrimage, now to the west of the mountain. And on completion of the Pilgrimage right up to the *Vairiñcī-Saṅgama*, Triśaṅku is taken to heaven along with his body by Brahmā himself, The language of this work is quite simple having a tinge of the regional dialects. A lexicographical study will therefore prove very interesting. It will again be quite interesting to identify the places mentioned and described therein. Publication of this work will certainly mean an important addition to the existing *Māhātmya* literature. One more manuscript has been secured from a local Paṇḍita of Vaḍodarā and one manuscript is preserved in the collections of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. The Oriental Institute intends to prepare and publish a critical edition of the *Viśvāmitrīmāhātmya* with the help of these manuscripts and any more ones if found out from other places.

HARYANA'S CONTRIBUTION TO SANSKRIT THROUGH THE AGES

By

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Haryana, which comprises the holy Kuru region hallowed by the sacred rivers Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī, has been the cradle of Sanskrit learning through the ages. It is an established fact that the greater part of Vedic literature was composed in this region and a large number of Vedic hymns were visioned by the seers on the banks of the Sarasvatī which finds frequent and reverential mention in the Vedic Saṃhitās.[1] It was the pre-eminence of Sanskrit learning on the banks of this sacred river that exalted the Sarasvatī to the rank of goddess of learning. Since the RV. hymn (III. 23) ascribed to the two Bhāratas, Devaśravas and Devavāts, refers to the kindling of the sacred fire on the banks of the rivers Sarasvatī, Dṛṣadvatī and Āpayā (Āpagā of the *Mahābhārata*) as well as the famous lake Mānuṣa,[2] all situated in Kurukṣetra, it may be safely assumed that this hymn must have been composed in this region. Similarly some other passages of the RV. allude to another famous lake Śaryaṇāvat[3] situated in Haryana. Likewise numerous references to the rivers, lakes, localities and inhabitants of the Kuru region in the various Saṃhitās of the *Yajurveda* point out that most of the sacrificial formulas and rituals embodied in these texts might have been formulated in Haryana. For instance, the *Kāṇva-Saṃhitā* of the *Śukla-Yajurveda* prescribes the following formula at the performance of the *Rājasūya* sacrifice : "This, O *Kurus*, is your king."[4] The M.S. alludes to the people of the Kuru region[6] and mentions a sacrifice performed by the gods in Kurukṣetra.[6] Moreover, the Saṃhitās of the *Yajurveda* prescribe waters of the Sarasvatī for the performance of several sacrifices.[7] In the description of the *Ahīna* sacrifices the T.S. makes the following observation in regard to the

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[1] RV. VI, 61; VII, 95; VIII, 21, 18; X, 75, 5; etc.; AV. VI, 51,2; V. S. IV, 2; etc.

[2] RV. III, 23, 4. See the author's article "A New Interpretation of the Vedic World Mānusa" in the *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, Vol. XVII, Parts 3-4.

[3] RV. I, 84, 14; VIII, 6, 39; 7, 29; 64, 11; IX, 65, 22; 113, 1; X, 35, 2.

[4] XI, 27:—

"एष वः कुरवो राजा"

There are many variations of this formula in the later texts, e.g.

"एष वो जनता राजा", "एष वः कुरुपञ्चाला राजा"

[5] M. S. IV, 2, 6.

[6] M.S. II, 1, 4; IV, 5, 9.

[7] M.S. IV, 3, 9.10; T.S. I, 8, 18, 1; etc.

[8] T.S. VII, 2, 1, 4.

[9] Cf. Sāyaṇa on *P. Br.* XXV, 13, 1.

Sarasvatī : "They (sacrificers) go along the Sarasvatī. This is the path that goes to the gods."[8]

Internal evidence from the Brāhmaṇas points to the conclusion that most of them were composed in Haryana as aptly summed up by Macdonell and Keith in their Vedic Index (Vol. I, p.165) :—"There is clear evidence that it was in the country of the *Kurus*, or the allied *Kuru-Pañcālas*, that the great Brāhmaṇas were composed." Not only the rivers, lakes and important localities of this region are often mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas, but also the customs and rites observed in Haryana are declared to be model and authoritative in these texts. For instance, the *P. Br.* (XXV, 10-13) describes such sacrifices as were performed on the banks of the rivers Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī The sacrifice to be performed on the banks of the Sarasvatī was called *Sārasvata-Sattra*. After the performance of Dīkṣā (initiatory rites) at Vinaśana where the Sarasvatī vanishes into the sands of Rajasthan, the performers of the *Sārasvata-Sattra* proceed along the southern bank of the Sarasvatī to a place called Plakṣa-Prasrāvaṇa in the Himalayas where this river rises. In the course of this pilgrimage the sacrificers perform a sacrifice at the confluence of the rivers Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī. According to the *P. Br.* (XXV, 10, 16), it was forty-four day's journey on horse-back from Vinaśana to Plakṣa-Prasrāvaṇa. In the description of the three-year *Dārṣadvata Sattra* connected with the river Dṛṣadvatī, the *P Br.* (XXV, 13) lays down that during the first year of the *Sattra* the sacrificer should tend the cows of a *Brāhmaṇa*, during the second year he should kindle the fire for worship at *Naitandhava*, and during the third year he should consecrate the three sacred fires at Parīṇah ; and then he should move along the southern bank of the Dṛṣadvatī, sacrificing in a special manner to a place named Triplakṣa near the Yamunā in the Himalayas. According to Sāyaṇa[9], *Naitandhava* was an old and desolate village on the Sarasvatī, but another commentator[10] considers it to be the site of a dried up pond near the Sarasvatī. Parīṇah was an important locality in the western part of Kurukṣetra[11]. Several Brāhmaṇa-texts declare Kurukṣetra to be the sacrificial altar (*Vedi*) of the gods.[12] The *Ait.Br.* (III, 33) and the *J.Br.* (III, 263) relate a story about the creation of the holy lake Mānuṣa, which is according to the *Mahābhārata* (III, 83, 67-68) at a distance of one *Krośa* to the west of the river Āpagā (Āpayā of the RV.). As regards the famous lake Śaryaṇāvat alluded to in the RV., the *J.Br.* (III, 64) locates it in the western part of Kurukṣetra and connects it with the legend of the renowned sage Dadhyañc whose very sight is said to have destroyed the demons. Referring to the different parts of Kurukṣetra, the

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[10] Cf. Vidyādhara-Sarman on *Kāt. Ś.S.* XXIV, 6,31. But Karka on the same Sūtra of *Kāt. Ś.S.* and Mahādeva on *Hir. Ś..S.* XVIII, 4, 48 explain it as "Naitandhava-Pradeśa".

[11] *Tait. Ār.* V, 1, 1; cf., *Kāt. Ś.S.* XXIV, 6, 31.

[12] *P. Br.* XXV, 13, 3; Ś. *Br.* XIV, 1, 1, 2; *J. Br.* 111, 125; *Tait. Ar.* V, 1, 1.

Tait.Ār. (V, 1, 1) declares Khāṇḍava, Tūrghna and Parīṇah to be its southern, northern and western parts respectively. Pointing to a linguistic peculiarity of Kurukṣetra, the *Ait.Br.* (VII, 30) says that in Kurukṣetra the Banyan trees (Nyagrodhas) are called *Nyubjas*. Narrating the story of Urvaśī and Purūravas, the *Ś.Br.* tells us that, after the disappearance of Urvaśī, dejected Purūravas wandered wailing all over Kurukṣetra and finally he sighted her in the company of nymphs at a lotus-lake named *Anyataḥplakṣā*.

Similarly the Upaniṣads also allude to the Kuru region and its inhabitants. For instance, the *Chā.Up.* (I, 10, 1) speaks of a calamity that once befell this region owing to a hailstorm. The *J. Br. Up.* very often refers to the kings and scholars of the Kuru region.[13]

The bulk of the *Kalpa-Sūtras* seems to have been composed in Haryana, for most of them, including the Sūtras of Kātyāyana, Lāṭyāyana, Śāṅkhāyana, Baudhāyana, Bhāradvāja and Āpastamba, betray their close familiarity with the rivers, lakes, localities, rites and customs of the Kuru region. Frequent references to the Kurus[14] and Kurukṣetra[15] are met with in the *Kalpa-Sūtras* Some of the *Śrauta-Sūtras* describe a sacrifice called *Kuru-Vājapeya* which owes its nomenclature to the Kuru region.[16] Moreover, the *Śrauta-Sūtras* mention many such sacrifices as were performed in Kuruṣetra on the banks of the rivers Sarasvatī[17] and Dṛṣadvatī.[18] The *Baudh. Ś. S.* (XVIII, 45) says that in Kurukṣetra there are lotus-lakes called Bisavatīs. Śaryaṇāvat,[19] Parīṇah[20] and Naitandhava[21] referred to above are also mentioned in the *Vedāṅga* literature. In this way the *Kalpa-Sūtras* abound in references to the rivers, lakes and localities of the Kuru region.

Among the works of post-Vedic literature the composition of the *Mahābhārata* may be assigned to Haryana with a fair amount of certainty, for the sacred places named Vyāsa-sthalī, Vyāsa-vana and Miśraka which the epic itself associates with its author Vyāsa are all situated in Haryana. Moreover, the minute and vivid description contained in the *Mahābhārata* of so many sacred places lying in Haryana makes it abundantly clear beyond doubt that this great epic was composed in this region. According to some verses found in the southern recension of the *Mahābhārata*, the sage Vyāsa composed the epic in a hilly cave at the foot of the Himalayas.[22]

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[13] *J. Br. Up.* I, 38, 1; 59, 1; III, 7, 6; 8, 7; 29, 1; 30, 6; 31, 9; IV, 6, 2; 7, 2.

[14] *Śāṅkh. Ś.S.* XV, 16, 11; *Āp. Ś. S.* XVIII, 12, 7; *Hir. Ś. S.* XIII, 5, 4.24; *Vādhu. Ś. S.*, III, 75.97.

[15] *Kāt. Ś. S.* XXIV, 6, 32; *Lāt. Ś.S.* X, 19, 1; *Śāṅkh. S.S.* XV, 16, 11; *Baudh. Ś.S.* XVIII, 45.47; *Vādhū. Ś.S.* IV, 75.

[16] *Lāṭ. Ś.S.* VIII, 11, 18; *Śāṅkh. Ś.S.* XV, 3, 17; *Āp. Ś.S.* XVIII, 3, 7.

[17] *Āśv. Ś.S.* XII, 6, 2.3; *Śāṅkh. Ś.S.* XIII, 29, 1; *Lāṭ. Ś.S.* X, 15, 1; 18, 13; 19, 4; *Kāt. Ś.S.* XXIV, 5, 30; 6, 22; *Āp. Ś.S.* XXIII, 12, 5.

[18] *Kāṭ. Ś.S.* XXIV, 6, 6. 30.36; *Āp. Ś.S.* XXIII, 13, 2.13; *Lāṭ. Ś.S.* X, 17, 1; 19, 8; *Śāṅkh. Ś.S.* XIII, 29, 14.29.

[19] *Rgvedānukramaṇī* II, 9, 113; *Bṛhad-devatā* III, 23.

[20] *Śāṅkh. Ś.S.* XIII, 29, 29; *Kāṭ. Ś.S.* XXIV, 6, 32; *Āp. Ś.S.* XXIII, 13, 13.

[21] *Lāṭ. Ś.S. X*, 18, 13; *Śāṅkh. Ś.S.* XIII, 29, 28; *Kāṭ. Ś.S.* XXIV, 6, 31; *Āp. Ś.S.* XXIII, 13, 12; *Hir. Ś.S.* XVIII, 4, 48.

The author of the extant *Manu-Smṛti* seems to have been an inhabitant of Haryana, for he shows a marked predilection for the places and people of this region. For instance, the *Manu-Smṛti* (II, 17-18) eulogizingly designates the tract between the rivers Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī as Brahmāvarta and commends as ideal the conduct of the cultured classes inhabiting this region. Among the Purāṇas the *Vāmana-Purāṇa* must have been definitely composed in Haryana as opined by Dr. V. S. Agrawal,[23] because the greater part of this text is devoted to the direct or indirect glorification of Kurukṣetra and its sacred places. The *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa* also, which glorifies the river Sarasvatī[24] and shows close resemblance with the *Mahābhārata* in many respects,[25] might have been composed in Haryana.

In the seventh century A.D. King Harṣa of Haryana made notable contributions to Sanskrit literature. According to the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang and renowned prose-writer Bāṇa, Harṣa who ruled in the first half of the seventh century A.D. had his ancestral capital at Sthāṇvīśvara (modern Thanesar), but the seat of his government had to be later transferred to Kannauj when he was obliged to look after the kingdom of his sister after the assassination of his brother-in-law Grahavarman and his elder brother Rājyavardhana. Harṣa was not only a valiant fighter and able administrator, but was also celebrated litterateur and patron of poets. He is credited with the authorship of three Sanskrit plays, viz. *Nāgānanda*, *Ratnāvalī* and *Priya-darśikā*. His biographer and court-poet Bāṇa, who is the reputed author of the *Kādambarī* and the *Harṣa-Carita*, refers to the poetic talents of Harṣa. In the third chapter of his *Harṣa-Carita* Bāṇa gives a graphic description of Sthāṇvīśvara, the capital of the royal dynasty of his patron. According to tradition preserved by Rājaśekhara and

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[22] Verses after I, 1, 28—

पुण्ये हिमवतः पादे मध्ये गिरिगुहालये ।
विशोध्य देहं धर्मात्मा दर्भसंस्तरमाश्रितः ॥
शुचिः सनियमो व्यासः शान्तात्मा तपसि स्थितः ।
भारतस्येतिहासस्य धर्मेणान्वीक्ष्य तां गतिम् ॥
प्रविश्य योगं ज्ञानेन सोऽपश्यत् सर्वमन्ततः ।

[23] *See* " *Vāmana-Purāṇa*——A Study ", preface p. 1, introduction p. x.

[24] *Markaṇdeya-Purāṇa* XXIII, 30-47.

[25] Winternitz M., *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, pp. 560 ff.

Śārṅgadhara-Paddhati,[26] the poets Mayūra and Mātaṅga-Divākara were also at Harṣa's court. The *Mayūra-Śataka* and the *Sūrya-Śataka* are ascribed to Mayūra, but there is a difference of opinion about the works of Mātaṅga-Divākara.

The tradition of Sanskrit learning in Haryana which made significant contributions during the millennia could not have come to an abrupt end after Harṣa's reign, and it must have continued in some form. However, we do not come across any major work of notable merit composed in Haryana after this period. This phenomenon may be accounted for by the fact that after Harṣa's exit from the scene the peace and tranquillity of this region was disturbed by political turmoil and armed incursions. After about 1000 A.D. Haryana was often ravaged by the successive waves of foreign invasions, for all the foreign invaders who attacked Delhi and other territories beyond it passed invariably through this region and made it a battle-field. Consequently no literary work was possible in a disturbed and war-torn territory.

Abbreviations Used

Ait.Br. = Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa.
Āp.Ś.S. = Āpastamba-Śrauta-Sūtra.
Āśv.Ś.S. = Āśvalāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra.
AV. = Atharva-Veda.
Baudh.Ś S. = Baudhāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra.
Chā.Up. = Chāndogya-Upaniṣad.
Hir.Ś.S. = Hiraṇyakeśi-Śrauta-Sūtra.
J.Br. = Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa.
J.Br.Up. = Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa-Upaniṣad.
Kāt.Ś.S. = Kātyāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra.
Lāt.Ś.S. = Lātyāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra.
M.S. = Maitrāyaṇī-Saṃhitā.
P.Br. = Pañchaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa.
R.V. = Ṛgveda.
Ś.Br. = Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa.
Śāṅkh.Ś.S. = Śāṅkhāyāna-Śrauta-Sūtra.
Tait Ar. = Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka.
T.S. = Taittirīya-Saṃhitā.
Vadhu.S.S. = Vadhula-Śrauta-Sūtra.
V.S. = Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā.
K.S. = Kāṭhaka-Saṃhitā.

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[26] *Keith, A. B. A History of Sanskrit Literature,* p. 214; and the stanza quoted in the *Śārṅgadhara-Paddhati* 189:—

अहो प्रभावो वाग्देव्या यन्मातङ्गदिवाकरः ।
श्रीहर्षस्याभवत् सभ्यः समो बाणमयूरयोः ॥

SOMASKANDA ICON OF THE SALAR JUNG MUSEUM

By

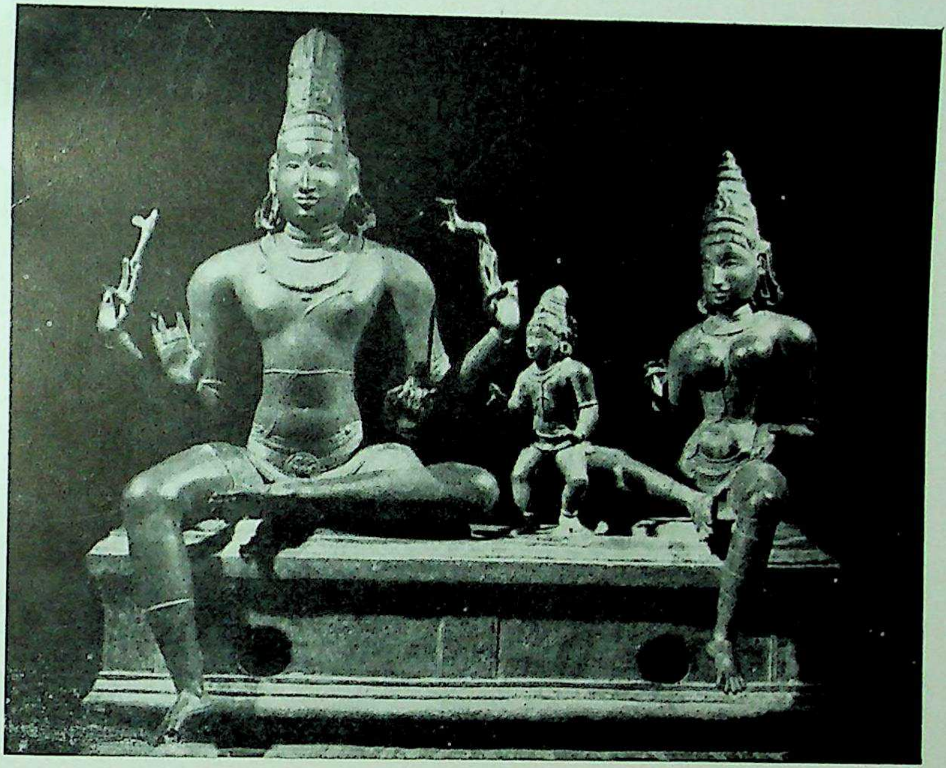
G. G. KRISHNAIAH, Hyderabad

The aim of an Indian artist in shaping an icon was to give expression to the character and personality of his mentally constituted image of the God. He tried to delineate the significance of the deity through its symbolic representation. The symbols and poses of those dieties are based on the scriptural records of the *śilpaśāstra*s and other religious documents where the nature and character of the diety has been fully enunciated. Innumerable images of Gods and Goddesses have been created to satisfy the quest of the devotee, laying stress on their spiritual attributes. *Somaskanda* group is one of such masterpieces of Indian art which has attracted the attention of the art lovers of the world. The icon under discussion has been identified and dated on the basis of the stylistical grounds and comparing it with the other identified and dated sculptures to the Vijayanagara period.

Art under the Vijayanagara period : :—

After the downfall of the Cola empire, art and architecture was decadent in South India and consequently the bronze icons which were prepared in this period showed lesser workmanship. Art was again revived to some extent by the Vijayanagara emperors, who ruled South India for a long time. In this period, art and architecture was liberally patronized and attained once again its perfection. Many temples were constructed in South India and metal images were cast. This period is very important in the history of art, because Northern India had passed under the sway of the Mughal invaders and consequently Hindu art and architecture degenerated due to lack of royal patronage. South India, however experienced a glorious epoch under the rule of the Vijayanagara emperors.

Somaskanda :—Śiva, Pārvatī and their son Skanda are represented in this icon. The textual descriptions are carried out with scrupulous accuracy and the workmanship is superb. Śiva in one of his right hands holds *paraśu* and his lower left hand is in *Abhaya mudrā*. In one of his left hands he is holding *mriga* and the remaining one is in *Siṃhakarṇa* pose. Regarding the Umā figure, her left hand is in *varada* pose and the right hand is in *Siṃhakarṇa* pose. The child Skanda is represented in the middle. It is a superb example of beautiful modelling. He is in dancing pose. Śiva's head-dress is in *Jaṭāmakuṭa* and the head-dress of Umā is in *Karandamakuṭa*. The figure of Umā is beautifully modelled and is a fine example of the art of the Vijayanagara period.



Somaskanda in bronze. Vijayanagara Period, 16th century A.D.
(Courtesy : Salar Jung Museum)

Dating :—Regarding the dating of this icon it represents some of the characteristic features of the Vijayanagara school of art. [1] In the words of Shri B. R. Thapar "In the Vijayanagara period for the first time the image showed two or three horizontal ridges or lines across the abdomen" [2] Shri Sivaramamurti has identified those three horizontal lines as "*Trivali* folds". In his opinion the *Trivali* folds are one of the characteristic features to identify a figure to the Vijayanagara period. The images in the Vijayanagara period have a long neck, narrow chest and slim waist. [3] The Umā figure of this group is possessing *Trivali* folds. Therefore, the *Trivali* folds on the stomach of Umā depicted little above the navel, oval shaped facial features represented in Śiva and Umā figures, elongated neck, ornamentation and prominent rather puffed up checks and lack of perfect expressions in the case of Śiva figure; suggest a later date of the Vijayanagara period most probably not earlier than 15th century and not later than the early part of the 16th century. Secondly if we compare the Umā figure of this group, with the Umā figure of the *Somaskanda* group of the Boston Museum [4] and Pārvatī figure illustrated by Shri B. R. Thapar with *Trivali* folds [5] and also *Devī* figure of the National Museum which is dated to 15th century A.D., we can ascribe a tentative date of about the early part of the 16th century A.D. [6] This may be a true representative piece of the art of Vijayanagara period probably under the patronage of Shri Krishṇadevarāya.

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[1] *Icons in bronze* by Shri Thapar B. R.

[2] *Indian Sculpture* by Sḥri C. Sivaramamurti.

[3] *Icons in bronze* by Shri Thapar B. R.

[4] *Indian metal sculpture* by Shri Chintamanikar.

[5] *Icons in bronze* by Shri Thapar, plate LXVIII

[6] *Indian Temples and Sculpture* by Shri Louis Frederick, (page 338 plate 346)

TRADITION OF NAMING THE CITY-GATES

By

D. V. CHAUHAN, Bombay

1.1. Since the middle of the twelfth Century of the Śakakāla, Muslim conquerors from Khurāsān and Afghanistan established their own State in India. With the arrival of Muslims, the practice of naming of the City-gates of important and historical Cities after the Countries or Cities to which such City-gates lead, became widely current throughout India. Prof. Khare has recorded that in January, 1730, the construction of the Śanavārwāḍā, the residential palace of the Peshwas of Poona, was started near the Māvalvesa of the old City (See Khare) and in January, 1752 the construction of the northern Delhi-gate was begun (Khare, P.34). In the city of Aurangabad the northern gate is named after Delhi, the Capital of the imperial Mughals and the southern gate after the ancient city of Paiṭhaṇ-Pratiṣṭhāna, the Capital City of the ancient Sātavāhanas. In my own native historical town of Ausa (Osmanabad district, Maharashtra) the northern gate was named after the Lātūr town, the one-time Capital of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas named Lattalūra and the eastern gate is named after a small neighbouring town Nilaṅgā.

1.2. In the Medieval period, names of City-gates called after the cities in a particular direction abound in number. Names of City-gates of Indra-prastha, modern Delhi, in the Muslim period are recorded as the Delhi-gate, Ajmer-gate, Kabul-gate etc. (see Chitrav, P. 221).

1.3. The volumes of the Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica and the Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian supplement supply us many examples of such City-gate names. In a Persian inscription of the year Śaka 1621 (1109 A. H.), a gate in the town of Kārañjā (Bībī) in Maharashtra, has been named as Māhūr-gate after the historical place of Māhūr (see, EI, APS, P. 55). Another inscription published elsewhere from the same town mentions the construction of the Dārwā-gate. The next incription (P. 56) mentions the Dakin-gate of the same City. It is constructed in the Julūs year 33 (Śaka 1622). Having conquered Bijapur and Golkonda Sultans and almost extirpated the Maratha power, it is quite appropriate that Aurangzeb, should have named a gate after the south.

1.3.1. The Muslim rulers thought sometimes proper to name some gates of Cities even after their own names. Alauddin Khalji has named after himself a gate of the famous Qutb Minar at Delhi. It is called ' *Alaī Darwāza* (see EIM, P. 24). Some rulers thought it proper to name such gates after some important event of their life. A gate in the Lakhanwāḍā (Khamgaon, Maharashtra) has been named Julūs-gate in the year Śaka 1589 (1078 A.H.) after the coronation of Aurangzeb, the Mughal emperor (see, EI, APS, P. 55).

2.1. It is seen that in the Sanskrit literary tradition, the practice of naming the City-gates is traceable to Pāṇini, the greatest grammarian of the world. Pāṇini is considered to have flourished in *C.* 600 B.C. Jayāditya and Vāmana refer to the *Pāṇinian Sūtra* :

अभिनिष्क्रामति द्वारम् । (86-1466)

in their Kāśikā (see Kāśikā, P. 418) which is considered a work of the period *C.* 650 A.C. The Kāśikā offers the following explanation of the Sūtra.

तदित्येव । तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थादभिनिष्क्रामति इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो यत अभिनिष्क्रामति द्वारं चेद् तद् भवति । आभिमुख्येन निष्क्रामति अभिनिष्क्रामति । स्रुघ्नमभिनिष्क्रामति कान्यकुब्जद्वारं स्रौघ्नम्। माथुरम्। राष्ट्रियम्। द्वारमभिनिष्क्रमणक्रियायां करणं प्रसिद्धं, तदिह स्वातन्त्रेण विवक्ष्यते, यथा साध्वसिश्छिनत्ति इति । द्वारम् इति किम् ? स्रुघ्नमभिनिष्क्रामति पुरुषः ॥

This explanation of the *Pāṇinian Sūtra* clearly lays down that the gate which opens in the direction of a particular geographical place is called after that place. Jayāditya speaks with reference to the City of Kānyakubja and its gates. In the word *sraughna* he refers to the country of Srughna which was famous in those days. In the Firozshāh Kotla area in the City of Delhi stands one of the monolith pillars of Aśoka the great. It was brought and erected there by Firoz Shah Tughlug. It is now discovered that this pillar was brought there from the country of Srughna (see, Chitrav, P.221). The *Kāśikā* mentions the Māthura gate of Kanauja. It leads to Mathurā, the ancient city. Another gate mentioned is Rāṣṭriya which led to the Rāṣṭra territory. This leads us to the view that in the last quarter of the sixth century of the Śakakāla, this tradition had taken root in India.

Mm. Kāṇe has recorded that this practice of naming the City-gates in this very manner is traceable to the *Mahābhārata*. He quotes, from the Vanaparvan :

वर्धमानपुरद्वारादभिनिष्क्रम्य पाण्डवाः ।
उदङ्मुखाः शस्त्रभृतः प्रययुः सह कृष्णया । १.१०

further he has quoted from the Āśramavāsi.

स वर्धमानद्वारेण निर्ययौ गजसाह्वयात् । १६.३

He observes : the gates were sometimes called after the cities *e.g.* in Vanaparva 1-9-10, the Pāṇḍavas are said to have gone out of *Hastināpura* from the gate called *Vardhamānapura*.

It is not without interest to look to the Rāmāyaṇa for information on this particular aspect. It does not show any example of a City-gate named in the manner discussed above. It mentions the gates of the Capital of Rāvaṇa differently. It says in the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* (See, Satavalekar)—

ते द्रुमैः पर्वताग्रैश्च मुष्टिभिश्च प्लवङ्गमाः ।
प्राकाराग्राण्यसंख्यानि ममन्थुस्तोरणानि च । ४२.१५
एतस्मिन्नन्तरे चक्रुः स्कन्धावारनिवेशनम् ॥ ४२.२३
पूर्वद्वारं तु कुमुदः कोटिभिर्दशभिर्वृतः ।
आवृत्य बलवांस्तस्थौ हरिभिर्जितकामभिः । ४२.२४
सहायार्थं तु तस्यैव निविष्टः प्रसभो हरिः ।
पनसश्च महाबाहुर्वानरैरभिसंवृतः ॥ ४२.२५
दक्षिणद्वारमासाद्य वीरः शतबलिः कपिः ।
आवृत्य बलवांस्तस्थौ विंशत्या कोटिभिर्वृतः ॥ ४२.२६
सुषेणः पश्चिमद्वारं गत्वा तारापिता वली ।
आवृत्य बलवांस्तस्थौ कोटिकोटिभिरावृतः । ४२.२७
उत्तरद्वारमागम्य रामः सौमित्रिणा सह
आवृत्य बलवांतस्थौ सुग्रीवश्च हरीश्वरः । ४२.२८

It is seen here that four main gates of the Capital are named after the four directions. The gates are called eastern, southern, western and the northern gates. It is clear that this mode of description does not visualise the particular practice mentioned by Pāṇini and elaborated by Jayāditya and Vāmana in their *Kāśikā* :

In the following stanza of the *Buddhacaritam*—

गुरुपरिघकपाटसंवृता या न सुखमपि द्विरदैरपाव्रियन्ते ।
व्रजति नृपसुते गतस्वनास्ताः स्वयमभवन्विवृताः पुरः प्रतोल्यः ॥ ५.८२

Aśvaghoṣa describes the main City-gate, but does not name it (see Aśvaghoṣa).

2.2. Almost contemporaneous adoption of the practice under discussion can be inferred from the place name Nāndīpuradvārī which is the ancient etymological name of the present day Nandurbār in Maharashtra (district Dhulia). Etymology and location of Nāndīpuradvārī is discussed by different scholars. Prof. Khare has, in a way, summarised the whole argument. Nāndīpuradvārī occurs, for the first time, in the Indian epigraphical record in the Śaka year 577, of Nikumbhaśaktī of the Sendraka dynasty (see EI, Khare, P. 197). It is seen from the discussion of Khare that the term Nāndīpuradvārī means the *dvāra* or gate of Nāndīpura. The latter has been identified, I think, very satisfactorily, as the Nāndod town in the former Rājpiplā State in the Western India.

It is interesting to note here that instead of a City-gate, a City itself has been named following the Pāṇinian tradition, the City itself pointing or leading to the particular place. Here Nandurbār is taken to be a gate leading to the territory designated by Nāndod in Gujarat.

A lithic record, about three centuries later than the one mentioned above, records two names of the City-gates of Kandhār (district Nānded, Maharashtra) in an indirect way (see Ritti, P. 4). The mention occurs—

तथा राजगृहांतर्व्वर्त्तिमकरतोरणे । म...सिद्धि विनायकमंडितयक्षद्वारे.........इति पंचसु स्थानेषु ग्रीष्मसंतापनिरसनक्षमाः......प्रपा ।

Though the record is undated, it is referred to the tenth Century A.D. (P. 213). Of the different charitable deeds done by a Rāṣṭrakūṭa King, one of them is the construction of five water sheds to relieve the people from the tormentation of oppressive summer heat, two of which were located near the Makara-toraṇa in the palace and the *Yakṣa*-gate adorned with the image of the *Maṇḍala-Siddhi* Vināyaka. It is seen here that one gate (*toraṇa*) is named *Makaratoraṇa* and the other the *Yakṣa*-gate. Both these gates are named after religious deities and not after geographical place names.

3.1. Muslims established their state at Delhi in the Śaka year 1128. Though the last Sasanian emperor was assasinated in the year Śaka 573, resulting in the loss of the empire, the Arabs reached Samarkand only in Śaka 597 (55 A.H.). For about a quarter of a century their rule in the area was only nominal. It is only in the year Śaka 634 that the first mosque was constructed in Samarkand, the Capital of Sogdia (see Nafīsī, pp. 94-113). Historical works of early Arab and Iranian authors on the history and geography of Khurāsān which is generally a part of the Central Asian territory, throw commendably good light on the issue of naming the City-gates of big Cities. The Late Śaīd Nafīsī has probed into the antiquities and other details of the Cities of Samarkand and Bukhārā. Nafīsī has recorded that the word Bukhārā is an etymological successor of the word *Vihāra* which stood for the Buddhist monastery. Since the *Vihāra* constructed in Bukhārā was older than the one name *Nava-Vihāra* in Balkh in northern Afghanistan, the latter was so named (See Nafīsī, p. 22). There was a newly-constructed *Vihāra* in Bukhāra near the rampart of the City. It was also called *Nava-Bihār*. Hence the gate in the direction of the *Navbihār* was called *Navbihār*-gate. The old City of Bukhārā had two gates named Darwāza-i Registan, the Registan gate and the Ghori-gate. The latter signified the Ghori Clan from Afghanistan and indicated their country. Bukhārā was a populous big City. It had, according to Istakhri (Śaka 873-340 A.H.), ten gates. Four of them were named, *Darwāza-ī Navbihār*, the Samarakand-gate leading to that City, *Darwāza-ī Maidān* i.e. the gate leading to the plains and the *Darwaza-ī* Rīv which led to that City (See Nafīsī p. 23).

On the authority of Istakhri it has been recorded that the City of Samarkand had four gates. They were named the Chīna-gate leading to the east, the *Navbihār*-gate indicating the Western direction, the Bukhārā-gate leading to that City in the north and lastly the Kash-gate leading to that City in the South (See Nafīsī, p. 48).

3.2. It has to be emphasized here that the practice of naming a City-gate after *Navbihār* in Balkh in Afghanistan, the centre of Buddhist Cultural activity, is definitely pre-Islamic. Arabs captured Samarkand by the end of the sixth century of the Śaka Kāla. The existence of the *Navbihār*-gates in the Bukhārā and Samarkand Cities shows conclusively that this name is definitely pre-Arab and pre-Islamic. Arabs were iconoclastic in their activities and the Buddhists of Sogdia had met with the loss of their faith at their hands. This leads one to the view that this tradition should have been in existence in this part of Central Asia at least a couple of Centuries earlier.

3.3. Dr. 'Abdul-Ḥayy Ḥabībī has indentified *Darab-i Bāmiān* in the City of Ghazna from an old Paṣto text. He could reach to this conclusion on the authority of Maqdīsī (lived in Śaka 919-387 A.H.) who has already mentioned the Darab-i Bāmian in the Ghazna City. The Paṣto text is considered to be of the seventh century of the Śakakāla, when the Muslim rule had not stabilised in eastern Afghanistan. Ḥabībī has reminded of this tradition prevailing in Khurāsān. As to the existence of this practice in Afghanistan, Ḥabībī has recorded that there is a Lahori-gate in Kabul, the Kabul-gate, Herat-gate and Shikarpur-gate in the City of Qandhār, and finally the Qandhār-gate in the Herāt-City (See Ḥabībī p.50).

Zaranj was the most important City of Seistan and figures prominently in the early Muslim history of Afghanistan. Zaranj is described to have thirteen gates of which two are known to be *Bāb-ī* jurjān which is Gurgistan stretching on the eastern coasts of the Caspian Sea and *Bāb-ī* Karkoī pointing to a mountain in that direction (See Bahār, P.158, foot note 5).
Another gate of Zaranj is called *Dār-ī-Pārs* meaning thereby the gate leading to Fārs, a province of Iran (See, Bahār P.175 and 196). The work *Tārīkh-i-Seistān* is compiled in the Śaka year 978 (448 A.H.).

Zaynul Akhbār of Gardīzī composed in the Śaka year 972 (442 A.H) mentions the Kohak-gate of the Samarkand City. Kohak is the name of a mountain adjoining the City. The gate leading to the Kohak mountain is named accordingly (See Ḥabibi Z., P.176, foot note, 1).

4.1 Certain conclusions may tentatively be suggested.

1 that the tradition of naming the City-gates leading to particular important place or territory is originally Aryan in concept and originated in Pakhtunistan where Pāṇini flourished,

2 that it spread to Sogdia in Central Asia and to India, where it flourished upto the end of the sixth century of Śakakāla,

3 that it retained, its full vigour in Sogdia and Afghanistan continuously in the Medieval period, but in India its existence seems later on very weak, almost on the verge of disappearance, and finally

4 that the tradition prevalent in full vigour in the Central Asia travelled to India along with the Muslim conquerors being widely accepted throughout India in the whole of the Medieval period,

Abbreviations and references

Aśvaghoṣa — Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacaritam*, Choukhamba, Varanasi, 1966.
Bahār — *Tarīkh-ī Seistān*, Bahār, Tehran, 13 4 (1935).
Chitrāv — S. S. Chitrāv, *Prācīna Sthalakośa*, Poona, Ś. 1891.
E I — G. H. Khare, *Epigraphia Indica*, XXVIII, P.195.
E I, APS — *Epigraphia Indica*, Arabic and Persian Supplement, 1963.
E I M — *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1917-18.
Ḥabībī — A. H. Ḥabībī, *Paṣto wa Lavīkān-ī Ghazna*, Kabul 1341 (1962)
Ḥabībī Z — ' A. H. Habībī, *Zaynul Akhbar*, Tehran, 1347 (1968).
Kane — P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Poona, 19.
Kāśikā — Aryendra Sharma, *Kāśikāvritti* Hyderabad, 1969.
Khare — G. H. Khare, *Shanwār Wādā*, Poona, 8 1871.
Nafīsī — S. Nafīsī, *Rawdaki*, *Ashwāl wa Ashār* Tehran, 1341 (1962).
Ritti — S. Ritti, *Inscriptions of Nanded district*, Nanded, 1968.
Sātavalekar— Sātavalekar, S. D. *Rāmāyaṇa Yuddhakāṇḍa*, Part I, Pardi, S. 1874.

SOME INTERESTING SCULPTURES FROM KĀVĪ-AREAS

By

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It is a significant event that a considerable number of Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Sūrya and Varāha sculptures discovered from the Kāvī-areas (Northern, North-Western areas of the Broach Dist., Gujarat), lying between the latitudes and longitudes, 21½ and 73, are preserved in the open compound of the E.M.E. School, Baroda. These areas rich in antiquities and ancient archaeological sites, consist of the Broach, Jambusar, Vāgarā, Āmoda and Hānsoṭa Talukas of the Broach Dist. Some of the ancient villages like Kāvī, Kimaja, Chirakaha, Galāla, Jambha, Simhugrāma, Vaṭapadraka, Jantrāṇa, Kaliyāra, Thūrnāvī, Degāma, Ruhaṇāda etc. of this region, have been mentioned in the Kāvī copper-plates[1]. Further, Bühler has stated that villages like Gāndhāra, Cāñcavela, Būā and Sajodrā where once Yādava principalities prevailed, posses very important archaeological sites and antiquities[2]. Of the above-mentioned places, Gāndhāra and Broach were the great cultural and commercial centres of the early Christain era. Gāndhāra, situated at the confluence of the rivers Narmadā and Ḍhāḍhara which fall into the bay of Cambay, appears to have been a great sea-port which must have been ruined by the natural and political calamities. Its available ancient relics in the form of brick and stone structure, give testimony of its great prosperity of the past. Broach, a great centre of trade, commerce and culture, referred to, by Ptolemy and '*Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*' as 'Barygaza' as a great harbour on the western Indian Sea-coast, was connected by sea-routes with the foreign countries of the Romans, Greeks and Ārabs and had trade-relations with Ceylon, Jāvā, Sumātrā, Bāli, Kaṭāha and Tāmralipti (Ancient Bengal); its trade and commerce by land-routes was carried on with great trade-centres like Ujjain in the North and with Paiṭhana and Sopārā in the South. Broach, well known as '*Bhṛgu-kṣetra*' in the Paurāṇic tradition and associated with the sage Bhṛgu's name, was a well—developed constituent of the culturally advanced widest unit, which included Gujarat, Rājasthana, Madhya-Pradeśa, Gangā-Basin (up to Mathurā), Punjab and North-West Frontiesrs. It was with this background and context that the concepts of the art, architecture, sculpture, iconography, religions, philosophies and cultures of the various peoples and races like the Greeks, Romans, Parthians, Scythians, Kṣatraps, Kuṣāṇas and Gāndhāras, came to Gujarat and the transformation took place due to the process of assimilation.

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[1] Bühler, G., "Inscriptions from Kāvi", *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V., April 1876, pp. 109-115, 144-152.

[2] *Ibid.*

This process of assimilation was complete before the Guptas came to Gujarat (405 A.D.) and a well developed sculptural art, beginning right from Kārlā-Kaṇherī and prevailing throughout the whole Western India, came into existence, (with some modifications in the ornaments, torsoes, head-dresses etc. due to the influences of some local and regional concepts) on account of the impact of the ideaologics of the above-mentioned foreign peoples and races (375 A.D.).

The earliest archaeological remains found from Gāndhāra belong to about the early centuries of the Christian era and the earliest sculptural specimen of a ' Sapta-Graha '— panel can be assigned to the 5th/6th century A.D.. Along with the political upheavals which occurred during the period of the 5th to the 12th Century A.D., the social cultural, religious and sculptural traditions brought over by the Traikūṭakas, Vākāṭakas, Kaṭaccuris, Gurjaras of Nāndīpura, Maitrakas, Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Cālukyas of Bādāmī, and Cālukyas of Kalyānī had a strong impact on these areas of the South Gujarat. And, the cultural influences of the Guptas and the Gujara-Pratihāras had been noticed in these regions through their respective relations with the Vākāṭakas and the Gujaras of Nāndīpura. Thus, the cultures of the Nothern, Southern and Western India, have been closely co-ordinated and correlated with the indigenous culture of the areas in this part of Gujarat. These facts reveal that the sculptural art in these regions had already begun to evolve and develop in the beginning of the Christian era, before the above-mentioned political impacts took place.

The first instalment of some remarkable mātṛkā-sculptures, along with Vīrabhadra and Gaṇeśa (which can be assigned to about the 6th, 7th and 8th Centuries A.D.) from these Kāvī-areas, have been recently published with their full iconographical significance.[3] The second lot of some interesting sculptures belonging to these areas, are described and discussed as under : 1. A panel of Sapta-graha, 2. Gaṇeśa, 3. Nirṛti, 4. Viṣṇu, 5. Mahiṣamardinī, 6. Mahiṣamardinī, 7. Umā-Maheśvara.

A panel of Sapta-graha : Figure 1. In this panel of sapta-grahas, depicted side by side on a single slab of schist, are shown, beginning from the right, Sūrya, Soma (Candra, Moon), Mangal (the son of the Earth-Mars), Budha (the son of Soma-Mercury), Bṛhaspati (Jupiter), Śukra (Venus) and Śani (Saturn).

The *graha*s are generally nine in number (*Navagraha*s), but here, we get seven and the Rāhu and Ketu appear to be absent. The single slab on which the standing grahas are represented seems to have been placed on the door-lintel of a huge shrine of Sūrya or of some other Bramanical deity.

All the two-armed seven-grahas, standing in *samabhaṅga* pose with haloes behind their heads, wear an *ekāvalī, hastavalayas, keyūras, kuṇḍals*, yajñospavītas, long garland passing from behind the shoulders and reaching the legs below the knees, a lower garment of fine drapery tucked up by a waistband, the ends of which are seen hanging between the legs, forming a semicircle below the navel. Sūrya puts on a Kuṣāṇa type squarish, mukuṭa and holds lotuses in his two raised hands. Others except Śani, have a water-pot in their left hands and a rosary in their raised right hands, held in *abhaya mudrā*; in the left and right hands of Śani, a water-pot and a mace are seen respectively. Just on both the sides of the legs of each graha, a standing female and a male attendant are found in *tribhaṅga* pose. On the top of the slab, a series of animal-heads (either horses' or goats') are noticed.

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[3] Parekh, V. S., ' Kāvī Pradeśa-nāṁ Keṭalāṁka Mātṛkā-Śilpo ', *Svādhyāya* (Gujarati Quarterly), Vol. 13, No. 2, pp. 212-220.

The iconic representation of the navagrahas,[4] mostly developed during the past-Gupta period, appears to have its origin in the concept of *Grahayajña* which is being performed even to-day for peace and prosperity. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar[5] and Dr. J. N. Banerjee,[6] have described and discussed some panels of the navagrahas, but this Kāvī panel is the earliest of its kind in Gujarat and has got close similarity with a late Gupta panel-piece of four *grahas* (relief obtained from Sārnath, at present preserved in the Indian Museum).

Gaṇeśa : Figure 2

The four-armed Gaṇeśa seated on *padmāsana*, with a *padma-prabhāmaṇḍala* behind the head, has got a *śankha* and a *pāśa* in his upper and lower right hands respectively, and a *parśu* and a *modaka* in his upper and lower left hands respectively. As found in the earliest images of Gaṇeśa, the head of the deity with a bejewelled ornament, big ears with the small śankha-like *Karṇābharaṇas*, small eyes, tusks (the left tusk seems to be mutilated) and the trunk touching the *modaka*, are quite natural and show close affinity with the features of an elephant. The pot-bellied deity wears armlets, anklets, a niṣka-hāra and double-stringed pearl *yajñopavīta*. The depiction of the god is chaste and crystalline and the image can be assigned to the 6th-7th Century A.D.

Nirṛti Figure 3

This 7th/8th century four-armed image of the naked Nirṛti, standing in *tribhaṅga*, has got a *ḍamaru* and a dagger in his upper and lower right-hands respectively and holds a bowl (or a skull?)[7] and a rope (tied to the dog standing

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[4] *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, Ch. 69, Ślokas 2-10; See also, Pandit B. S. Moghe's commentary on verses 297-99 of the *Ācārādhyāya* of the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* (Bombay edition); also refer to *Agni Purāṇa*, Ch. 51, 10-12.

[5] Bhandarkar (Dr.) D. R., "Temples of *Osia*", *Archaeological Survey of India*, Annual Report, 1908-9, pp. 111 ff.

[6] Banerjea, (Dr.) J. N., *Development of Hindu Iconography*, plates xxx, 1, xxxi, 1, 2. See also his article on "Sūrya", published in the *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. xvi, 1948, pp. 47-100.

[7] This portion is repaired and as such, it cannot be clearly seen.

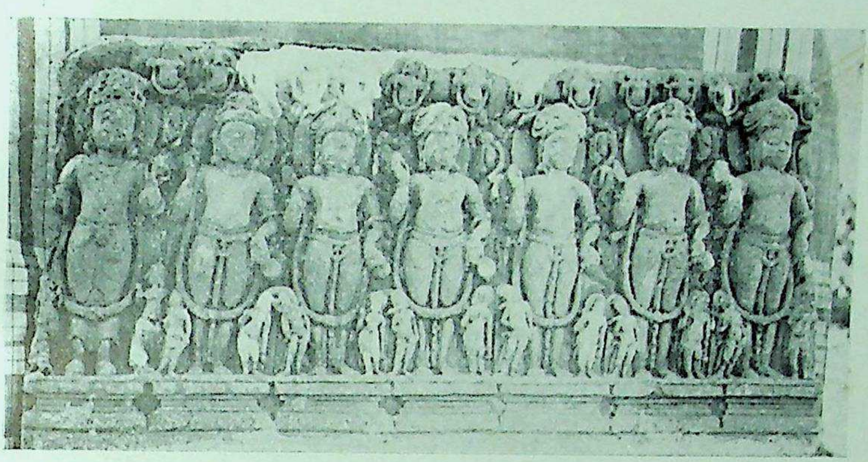

Fig. 1
A panel of Sapta-Grahas (Kāvī-areas)

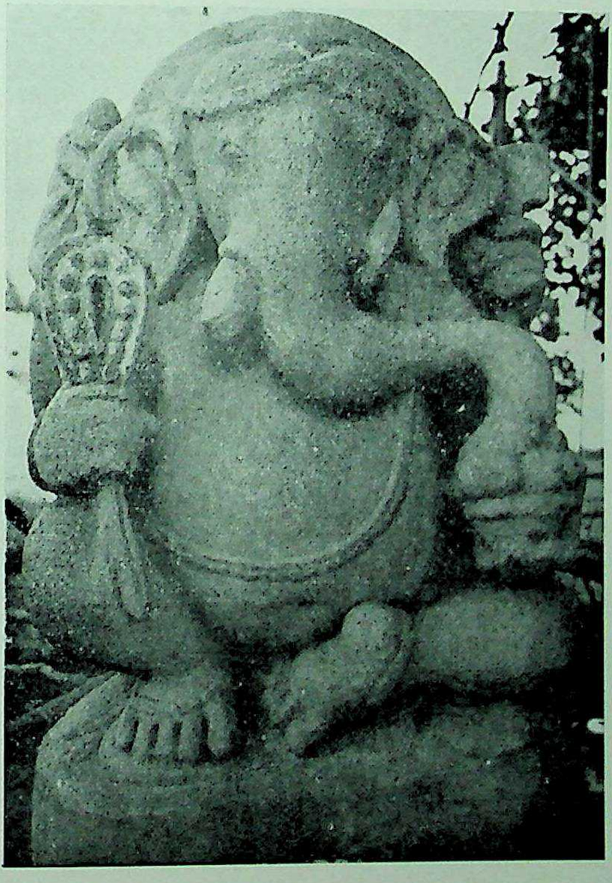

Fig. 2
Gaṇeśa (Kāvī areas)

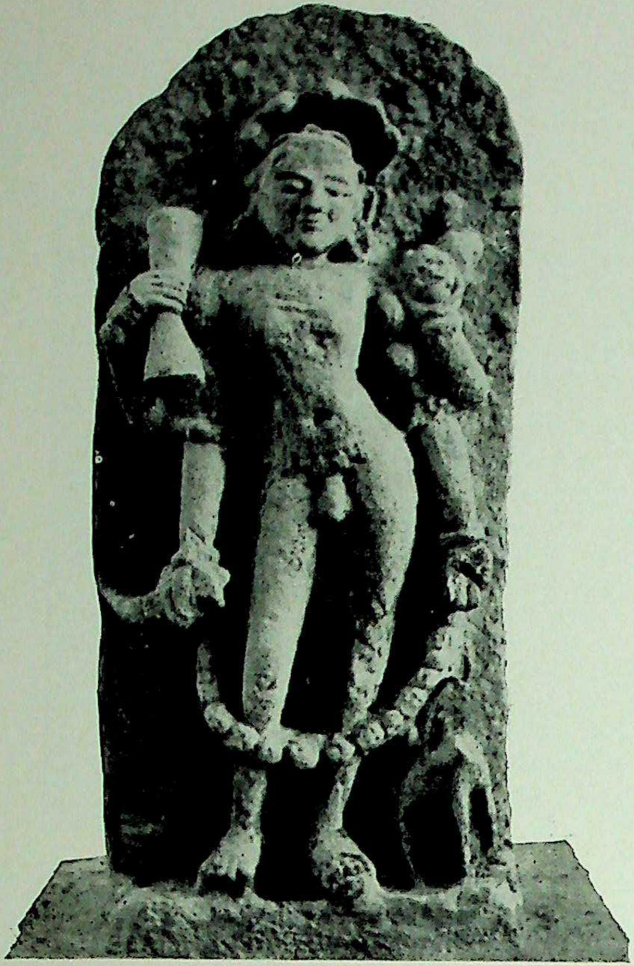

Fig. 3
Nirṛti (Kāvī-areas)

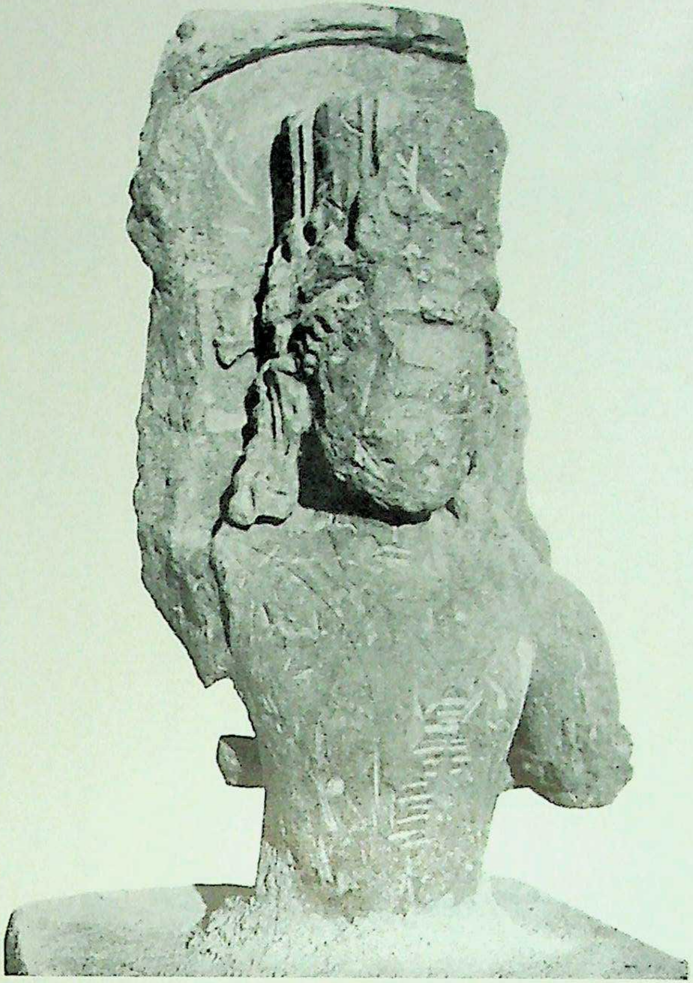

Fig. 4
A Bust of Viṣṇu (Kāvī-areas)

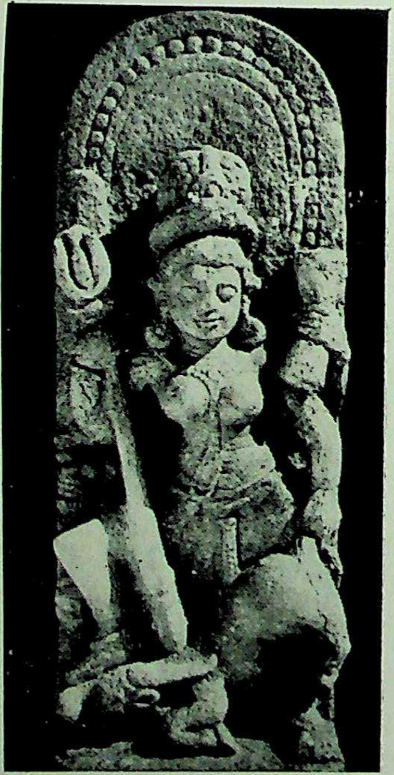

Fig. 5
Mahiṣamardinī (Kāvī-areas)

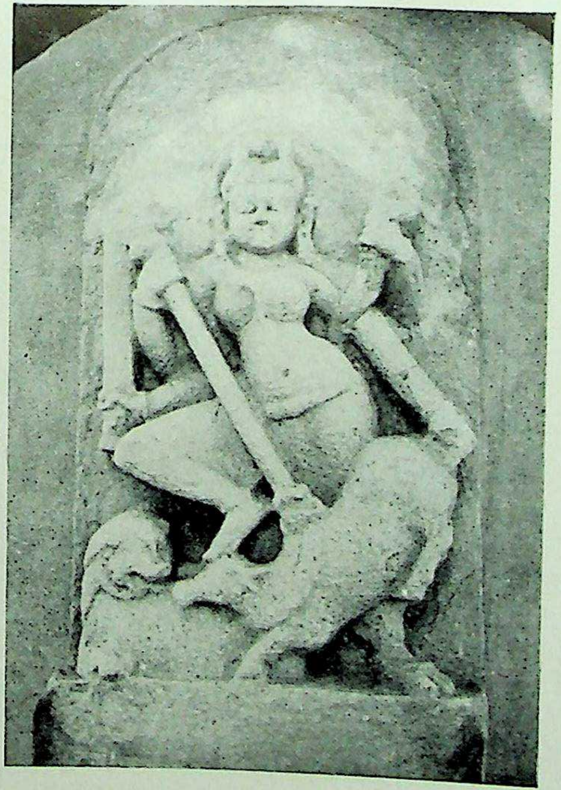

Fig. 6
Mahiṣamardinī (Kāvī-areas)

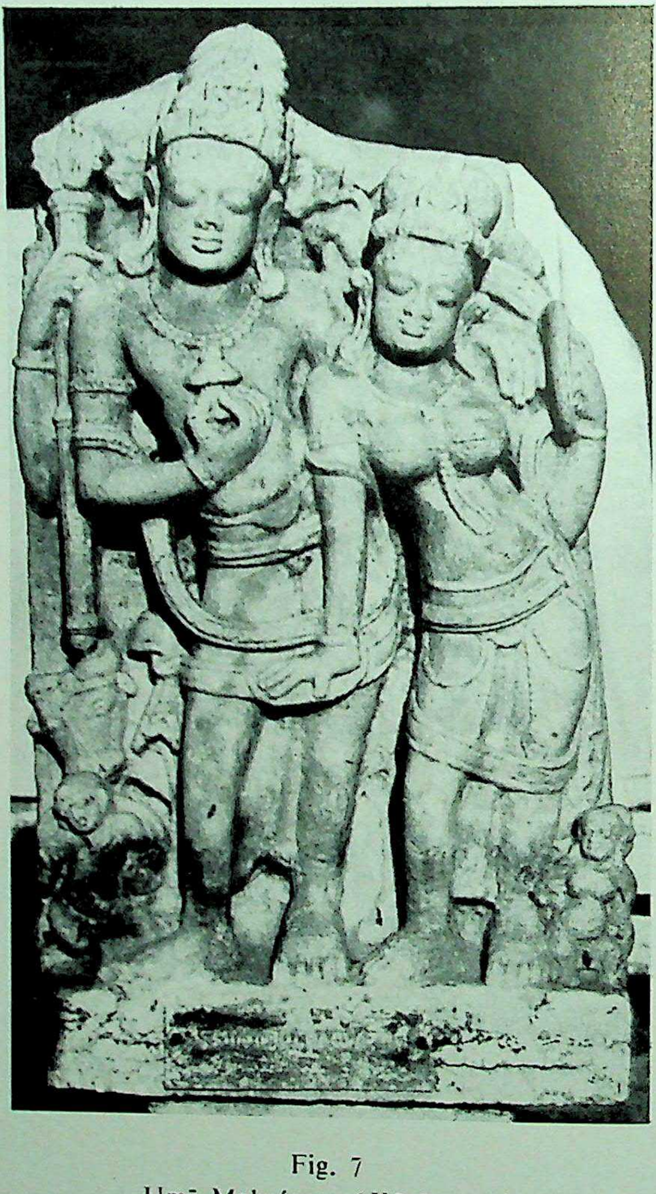

Fig. 7
Umā·Maheśvara (Kāvī·areas)

on the left side below; his head is mutilated) in his upper and lower left hands respectively. The deity wears a peculiar snake-hood, a *niṣka-hāra, kuṇḍalas*, a waist-band of small bells, armlets and *keyūras* of *rudrākṣa, pādukās* and a garland of skulls passing from behind the shoulders and reaching the legs just below the knees.

The icons of this god of evil, are quite rare and are generally found with a man, as his mount. Recently, two images of Nirṛti with his consort, riding the man as the mount, have been published by Shri Y. Gopala Reddy[8]. In the early vedic period, Nirṛti prevailed as a female divinity representing evil, decay and destruction[9] and was known as the wife of *Virūpākṣa*, the Lord of the *Rākṣasas*. But in the post-vedic period, the concept of Nirṛti underwent a fundamental change and the male aspect of Nirṛti as *Dikpāla* of the South-west came into existence. References regarding the ass and the man as the vehicles of Nirṛti are available, but dog as his cognizance in this icon of Kāvī and his other icons obtained from Cambay and Dabhoi, evidence that this kind of Nirṛti's depiction was well prevalent in Gujarat.

A Bust of Viṣṇu : Figure 4

This massive bust of Viṣṇu belonging to about the 7th/8th cent. A.D., carved from the schist-stone[10], wears a Kuṣāṇa-type squarish mukuṭa with a dignified rectangular crest in its front. The beautifully braided curly hairs are shown shown falling on both the shoulders. The deity puts on a *niṣka-hāra, kuṇḍalas*, double-stringed peculiar *keyūras* of pearls, and a bejewelled *bandha* like ornament seen below the fringe of the mukuṭa. The broken but simple halo is seen behind the head. Though the face is highly damaged and the hands and the lower part of the image are mutilated and missing, the remaining parts of the image are eloquent of its sublime-beauty.

Mahiṣamardinī : Figure 5

In this four-handed sandstone image of Mahiṣamardinī, the goddess has a *jaṭāmukuṭa* with a beautiful crest in its centre in the front and wears an *ekāvalī* with a pendant, another long garland of small round beads, passing between the breasts and reaching upto the waist-band, armlets, *keyūras, kuṇḍalas*, a waist-band and a simple lower garment tucked up by the waist-band. The ends of the lower garment are seen dangling between the legs. The goddess is depicted in the usual *pratyālīḍhāsana*—in the act of hurling a *śakti* against the back of Mahiṣāsura. Engaged in the act of killing the buffalodemon with *śakti* in her upper right hand and a long sword in her lower right hand, she holds a bell in her upper left hand and has grasped the tail of the animal with her lower left hand. She has pressed the animal by placing her right leg on the head of the Mahiṣa. The lion, her mount, is found peeping from the right side as if to help the goddess in killing the demon.

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[8] Reddy, Y. Gopal, "Two Interesting Icons of Nirṛti" *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, Vol. xxiv, Nos. 3-4, pp. 313-316. An unpublished image of Nirṛti, with his multitalated head, riding the man as his mount, is discovered from the Salāṭavāḍā area of Baroda; it can be assigned to about the 12th-13th cent. A.D.

[9] Lal, S. K., "Nirṛti", *Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda*, Vol. xxiv, No. 3-4, pp. 300-312.

[10] Like Śāmaḷājī and Roḍā, a considerable number of schist-stone sculptures are obtained from these areas also.

This remarkable sculpture, with symmetrical torso and calm, serene expression on the face, is datable to the 7th-8th Century A D.

Mahiṣamardinī : Figure 6

In this very forceful representation of the four-handed sand-stone Mahiṣamardinī, the goddess is seen killing the buffalo-demon by *śakti* and a long sword held in her upper and lower right hands respectively. With a dagger in her upper left hand and grasping the tail of the Mahiṣa by her lower left hand, the *devī* in the usual *pratyālīḍhāsana*, is found hurling *śakti* at the back of Mahiṣāsura. She has pressed the demon by placing her right leg on the head of the Mahiṣa. On her right side below, the frowning lion, her vehicle appears ready to tatack the demon.

The goddess wears a peculiar jaṭāmukuṭa[11] (with two raised ends on either sides), a long garland of small round beads, passing between the breasts and reaching upto the navel-portion, armlets, *keyūras*, *kuṇḍalas*, anklets and a simple lower garment.

This beautiful sculpture of the 7th-8th century A.D., is remarkable for its proportionate depiction. The bulging, small, round and rolling eyes of the goddess have got close similarity with those of the two Bhairavas found from Baroda[12] and the sculptures discovered from Māsara (Dist. : Baroda)[13].

Umā-Maheśvara : Figure 7

This well accomplished specimen of the sculptural art, is the gracefully standing Umā-Maheśvara in *tribhaṅga* (about the 9th cent. A.D.), in which the four-handed Maheśvara standing on the right, holds a *triśūla* and a *nīlotpala* in his upper and lower right hands respectively, and with a hissing snake in his upper left hand, has placed his lower left hand on the left shoulder of Umā. Both the deities wear a *jaṭāmukuṭa* with *kirttimukha* in the centre in the front, *kuṇḍalas*, armlets, *keyūras*, anklets and a lower garment of fine drapery (tucked up by a waist band) with a *vastrapaṭṭa* wrapped round the thighs where an artistic knot of the *paṭṭa* is seen on the right-thigh of Maheśvara. Maheśvara puts on an *ekāvalī* and a long *vanamālā* passing from behind the shoulders and reaching upto the thighs. The Nandi, the mount of Maheśvara, decorated with a garland of beads, is found behind the Lord. A male and a female attendant appear standing in *tribhaṅga*, on the right and left sides of the deities, respectively.

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[11] Such depiction of mukuṭas is noticed on the *gaṇa-heads* of Śāmaḷāji; See, Shah (Dr.) U. P., '*Sculptures from Śāmaḷājī and Roḍā*', Figs. 56-59.

[12] Majamudar, (Dr.) M. R., *The Historical and Cultural Chronology of Gujarat*, plate xxx; see also Coomarswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 101.

[13] Parekh, V. S., 'Some Sculptures from Māsara, Dist. Baroda', *Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda*, Vol. xxv, No. 1, pp. 78-82.

Umā carries a mirror in her left hand and has placed her right hand on the right thigh of Maheśvara. She has worn a long garland of small round beads, passing between the breasts and reaching upto the navel and an ornament of single-stringed beads, hanging from the waist-band and forming the semi-circles on the thighs is seen with two of its ends, dangling between the legs. The beautiful wrinkled ends of the *uttarīya* put on by Umā, are visible dangling on her either sides. With perfect calm and serenity on their faces, the deities seem to have merged in deep meditation.[14] Dalicacy and grace prevail all over this beautiful piece of art. Its parallels can be traced in Umā-Maheśvara sculptures discovered from North Gujarat,[15] Kapurāi (Dist: Baroda),[16] Kāravaṇa (Dist: Baroda)[17] and Kāśīpurā-Sarāra (Dist: Baroda).[18]

In the light of the above-discussed sculptures, it appears that the Kāvī-areas had got a rich cultural heritage of the various races and peoples, in the early centuries of the Christian era. These sculptures distinguished by their peculiar traits and characteristics, deserve careful and critical study by the scholars of Indian iconography.

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[14] There is an incription at the pedestal of the sculpture but it could not be decipherred.

[15] This sculpture is preserved in the Baroda Museum.

[16] Shah, (Dr.) U. P., ' *Sculptures from Śāmaḷājī and Roḍā* ', fig. no. 60a.

[17] Shah, (Dr.) U. P., *op. cit.*, Śiva-Pārvatī, fig. no. 4.

[18] Mehta, (Dr.) R. N., " An early mediaeval sculpture from Kāsīpurā-Sarāra, Dist. Baroda ', *Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda*, Vol. VIII, No. 1, pp. 71-74.

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REVIEWS

Colonization in India According to Vedic and Puranic Evidence and According to Archaeological Evidence by DR. H. D. SANKALIA, published by Charutar Vidyamandal, Vallabh Vidyanagar, 1975, pp. 34 with 2 maps and 22 figures, Price : Not mentioned.

This booklet (the name of which could have been shortened by omitting some repetitions) embodies Dr. Sankalia's address delivered as the Bhaikaka or Bhailalbhai Memorial Lectures at the Vidyamandal, and in it the word 'colonization' has been so used as to carry the implication that people living in a colony are knit together by caste, religious and socio-economic status as well as educational need. In this connection, Dr. Sankalia draws our attention to the Brāhmaṇa habitations created by the royal charters of the early mediaeval period.

We are grateful to Dr. Sankalia for dating PGW between 800 and 400 B.C., which is supported by the C-14 test, against the earlier date still preferred by some archaeologists However, the learned author depends on the well-known attempts to determine the date of the Kurukṣetra-war and also the dates of the rulers of the solar and lunar dynasties, calculated on the basis of that date, which appear to us to be no better than a useless exercise. There are a few significant facts against such attempts. In the first place, Kurukṣetra is always mentioned as a holy place and not as a battlefield in works earlier than the age of the Imperial Guptas (4th-6th century A.D.). Secondly, there are several conflicting dates for the event in the works of the said age, e.g., 3102 B.C., 2449 B.C., 1400-1900 B.C., etc. Thus it was apparently not a well-known event with a definitely known date before the Gupta period.

In our humble opinion, archaeology, if imagination is kept out of it, is not expected to help us in dating Vaivasvata Manu and his descendants. However, we are told, "we have the Yayāti period (c. 3000-2750 B.C.)—Yayāti's five sons Yadu, Turvasu, Anu, Druhyu and Puru...... ". But this is quite clearly an Epico-Purāṇic fabrication on the basis of the Ṛgvedic references to the five peoples called Anu, Druhyu, Turvaśa, Yadu and Pūru. What value can be attached to such later concoctions ?

At p. 8, we have, "All the available data as known upto August, 1974, has been listed in the chart published in my book......Some ten years later Dr. V. S. Wakankar discovered Kaitha...... " There must be some error here because there is no possibility of anybody making a discovery 10 years after 1974 since we are yet long before 1984.

D. C. SIRCAR

Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa I, 1-65 translation and commentary with a study of Agnihotra and Prāṇāgnihotra by H. W. Bodewitz, pp. xix + 357, Leiden 1973. Price : Not printed.

The book under review is a doctoral thesis submitted to the University of Utrecht (Holland) in January 1973.

The Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa (= JBr.) belonging to the Jaiminīya recension of the Sāmaveda is an important text which requires to be closely studied. The entire text was published by Lokesh Chandra (Nagpur 1954), but the small number of MSS on which the edition is based and the deficiencies of MSS naturally proved a stumbling block for a correct and scientific presentation of this important Vedic text. A.C. Burnell discovered this text as early as 1877. In 1919 W. Caland published an anthology of the text together with a German translation. Hertel, K. Hoffmann and others have made contributions to a critical and linguistic study of the text. Much more, however, remains to be done. H. W. Bodewitz has now come forward with a scientific study of the initial part of the text dealing with agnihotra.

The small but valuable introduction first traces the history of the JBr. and of other Jaiminīya texts. Emendations, conjectures and text-critical remarks made in the course of the translation have then been collected together for the facility of understanding the improvements made in published text-portion. A minor improvement may be suggested : JBr. 1.52 twice reads *gārhapatyād āhavaṇīyān ninayan niyāt*. This should be read as *gārhapatyād ā āhavanīyān* .... without making any emendation. The text reproduced in the *Śrautakośa* I P. 90 reads similarly. See Baudh ŚS 1 4 ; 7.8; 8.2; 11; 14.23 and also TBr. 3.2.4. Important notes of philological interest selected from the material scattered over the Notes to the translation have also been put together. The conclusions on the position of the agnihotra-section within the Brāhmaṇa itself and in relation to other texts have also been recorded. That the agnihotra-section is a supplement to the original JBr. joined at the beginning is proved on adequate grounds: agnihotra is not at all dealt with in the major Brāhmaṇa-text of the Sāmaveda, namely, the Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa. The function of a Brāhmaṇa of the SV is mainly to lay down the Audgātra in Soma-sacrifices. The agnihotra is dealt with in the Aitareya, Śāṅkhāyana and Gopatha Brāhmaṇas wherein its position is secondary. The Śrautasūtra belonging to the Ṛgveda and the Atharvaveda have prescribed the agnihotra, but the Jaiminīya Śrautasūtra of the Sāmaveda does not deal with that rite. It simply mentions the chants to be chanted by the sacrificer at that time. The JBr., however, does not refer to the chanting. The agnihotra-section has points of contact with other portions of the JBr. In view of the supplementary character of the agnihotra-section, the chronology of the whole JBr. would need a profound revision as pointed out by the author.

The comparative study presented by the author reveals that many portions of the agnihotra-section are based on Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. It may be worthwhile to see whether it was the Brāhmaṇa in the Kāṇva recension which lived in the vicinity of the Jaiminīya. The agnihotra-section is also shown as referring to the Taittirīyas whose views have been mentioned in the ŚBr. The author has touched the problem of the relation between the JBr. and the lost Śāṭyāyani Brāhmaṇa, but in view of the limited portion of the JBr. and the complicated nature of the Śāṭyāyani citations, he has not arrived at any definite conclusion. Borrowings have been pointed out to have been made also from the Aitareya and Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇas of the Ṛgveda. In this connection the existence of the Śāṅkhāyana school in Kerala is worth nothing. The author has pointed out that even though the Lāṭyāyana Śrautasūtra of the Kauthuma Sāmaveda is later than JBr., the agnihotra-section of JBr. is later than the Lāṭy. ŚS because *pātracayana* in the Pitṛmedha rite laid down in the JBr. is borrowed from the Lāṭy ŚS. On the other hand, the Drāhyāyaṇa Śrautasūtra and the Rāṇāyanīya school have been under the influence of the Jaiminīyas as pointed out by A. Parpola (*The Śrautasūtras of Lāṭyāyana and Drāhyāyaṇa and their commentaries* I:1 p. 41, Helsinki 1968). A detailed discussion of the relation between the agnihotra-sections in the Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas promised by the author (p. 13) is now published (*the daily evening and morning offering* (*Agnihotra*) *according to the Brāhmaṇas*, Leiden 1976).

After the introduction follows the literal translation of the agnihotra-section arranged in suitable groups of Khaṇḍas. The translation of each group is preceded by an introductory paragraph discussing the general character of the topic. It is succeeded by detailed philological ritualistic Notes. All relevant passages from the Brāhmaṇas and Kalpasūtras have been brought to bear on the explication of the JBr. text, and have also been subjected to a critical examination. Thus the translation will prove a valuable aid to a clear understanding of the JBr. text. Not only that, one desiring to undertake a critical study of the agnihotra-portions in the Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra-texts will have to take note of the critical material presented herein.

Bodewitz has come across two instances from which he is inclined to conclude that "the oral and written tradition of the texts some times is more decisive than the tradition of the ritual-practice itself" (p 203). With regard to the contingency of the sun having set before the Āhavanīya fire was carried forth, ŚBr.XII, 4.4.7 says: *purastād dhartavai brūyāt.. ..athe' dhmam ādīpyā' nvañcam hartavai brūyāt.* KātyŚS 25.3.17 prescribes in this connection: *kuśabaddhe hiraṇye paścād dhriyamāṇa idhmeno'adhared ārṣeyo brāhmaṇaḥ.* Here KātyŚS no doubt differs a little from the ŚBr. but one need not say that KātyŚS. misinterpreted ŚBr and that its author relied upon the written tradition. *Hartavai* of ŚBr. is from *hṛ* and *hriyamāṇe* of KātyŚS is also from *hṛ*, not from *dhṛ* as understood by the author (p. 203). In *rajatadhāraṇam purastāt* (KātyŚS 25.3.20) KātyŚS may be said to have chosen its own words. A similar conclusion has been drawn (p. 162) with regard to the Atharva-veda-prāyaścitta (4.3). In the contingency of the milk being spilt while the cow was being milked, the (obtained) milk is to be thrown into water with the verse beginning with *samudraṁ tvā prahiṇomi*. AV 10.5-23 reads *vaḥ* for *tvā*. This change of *tvā* into *vaḥ* is due to the misunderstanding of *vaḥ* according to Bodewitz. In this connection it may be observed that the verse AV.10.5.23 has already been used for a domestic rite (KauŚS. 6.17). The junior tradition of the Taittirīyas and also the Mānava Śrautasūtra have employed the verse *samudraṁ vaḥ prahiṇomi etc.* for the same prāyaścitta. But it has to be noted that all these Sūtras and also the Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra representing the senior tradition of the Taittirīyas have prescribed the offering of the milk that remains in the milking pot. The AV-Prāy (4.3) does not conform to this practice, it prescribes the throwing away of the remaining milk, implying that another cow is to be milked for the purpose of offering. The author of AV-Prāy, therefore, intentionally put *tvā* in place of *vaḥ*. (cf. *Śrautakośa* Vol. I, Part 1 (Engl.), p. 157, Poona, 1958). The supersession of the ritual tradition by the oral or written tradition can hardly be regarded as valid unless verified by stronger evidence.

The author has added to his presentation of the agnihotra-section of the JBr. a study of agnihotra and prāṇāgnihotra, and has thus set the character of agnihotra in a historical perspective. Prāṇāgnihotra is a rite in which food is offered twice a day to the vital breaths representing the sacred fires. The daily repetition of agnihotra gave rise to theories on macrocosmic (*adhidaiva*) life and microcosmic (*adhyātma*) life. It was natural for the Kṣatriyas particularly to be attracted towards these aspects of agnihotra, and consequently one finds them discussed in the Chāndogya, Bṛhadāraṇyaka, Maitrāyaṇiyā, and other Upaniṣads. The author has cautiously stated that "the first traces of the prāṇāgnihotra as a micro-macrocosmic sacrifice coincide with the Vedic period in which Kṣatriya influence on the speculations was acknowledged in the texts" (p. 217). Even though there was the daily evening and morning offering on the domestic fire side by side with the śrauta agnihotra, the author has rightly remarked that "the starting points for the prāṇāgnihotra are definitely to be found in the śrauta agnihotra" (p. 218).

The agnihotra is related with sunset and sunrise. The statement of the author that "originally the agnihotra was perhaps more a daily maintenance of the fire in the hearth (related with the family's life) than a rite connected with sunrise and sunset" (p. 226) needs further consideration. It may be observed that the agnihotra is to be offered to Agni and Sūrya. The author himself has drawn attention (p. 235) to the cosmic interpretation of the agnihotra, namely, offering of the sun in the fire and of the fire in the sun. The prāṇāgnihotra has, of course, abandoned the relation between sunset and sunrise. When the Āhitāgni is on journey and is away from his sacred fires, he offers prayers to his fires at the proper time. This may be regarded as the mental agnihotra. The prāṇāgnihotra (*bhojanavidhi*) is prescribed in the Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra II. 7.12.2 and other texts. The intermediate stage between these two has been shown to be the agnihotra which the aged Āhitāgni is asked to perform (Baudh ŚS 29.5).

J. Varenne (*Lal Mahā Nārāyaṇa Upaniṣad*, II. Paris, 1960) has referred to *antara* agnihotra and *mānasa yajñā*. He, however, attributes it to ascetics which, according to Bodewitz, is not correct. It is the same as prāṇāgnihotra and is intended for a householder. The *ātmayājin* who offered a sacrifice in oneself is described in some parts of the Baudh DS, Vaikhānasa Smārta Sūtra and parts of Mahābhārata. That sacrifice was prescribed mainly for ascetics. While discussing the genesis of prāṇāgnihotra, Bodewitz. has rightly observed that sacred fires were hardly maintained by the majority of householders and consequently the agnihotra had gone out of general practice. This gave rise to the new doctrine of agnihotra in the form of prāṇāgnihotra.

Bodewitz has taken note of theories and interpretations recently put fordward in the field of Indian religion and philosophy. He does not agree with Sergiu Al-George and Avion Roșu in their view that prāṇāgnihotra represents the interiorization of Vedic rites and that it was based on *Tantric pūjā* which was a pre-Aryan or rather non-Aryan rite (ŚS. 524 ff.). Nor is he happy, quite reasonably, with the interiorizing interpretation of the Vedic sacrifice attempted by J. F. Staal (*Advaita and Neoplatonism*, Madras, 1961).

The Appendix gives the prāṇāgnihotra according to the prapañcasār-vivaraṇa, the commentary on the Prapañcasāratantra, ascribed to Padmapāda. There is a concise bibliography, a general index of Sanskrit terms and a very useful index of Sanskrit text-places.

The book embodies an illuminating study of the agnihotra-section of JBr. involving great research in philology and comparative religion together with a monograph tracing the historical development of the concept of agnihotra. The author deserves congratulations on his worthy performance. His promised study of the Agniṣṭoma-portion of the JBr. is eagerly awaited.

C. G. KASHIKAR

Kusumañjali-Kārikā Vyākhyā: Ed. by SHRINIVASA SASTRI, Pub. by Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra pp. 23 + 90,....Price Rs. 20-00.

With the publication of this commentary on Nyāyakusumāñjali of Udayanācārya, the 'Tarka-rasikas' will get a fresh opportunity to enjoy an interesting logical discourse on the problem of personal God in Indian Philosophy. Udayana-a great exponent of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika philosophy has ardently refuted the arguments of atheists and put the Nyāya system on a more solid and formidable foundation. In his Ātma-tattava-Vivek, he propounded the theory of permanent soul while in NK. he proved the existence of personal God. The text consists of Kārikās with the author's commentory in prose. However this made the reading of NK, somewhat difficult for the general students. It was natural, therefore, that a number of commentaries were written on NK. Among these commentariesboth on verses and prose, the Nyāyakusumañjali prakāśa, of Vardhamānopādhyāya is a monumental work full, with the terminology of Navya-Nyāya. It made the comprehension of NK. more complicated. Hence in course of time, perhaps the 'prose portion of the NK. lost its popularity and only the Kārikās came to be commented upon by later scholars.' The learned editor has given a list of such commentaries in the introduction. The present text is one of such commentaries.

A short resume of the life and works of Nārāyaṇatīrtha given by the editor shows that this learned commentator [17th cent. A.D.] was a versatile scholar and has written on Nyāya, Sāṁkhya, Yoga, Vedānta, Bhākti, Music and Vedas. It is natural, therefore, that this commentory is radiated with occasional flashes of allied systems. He has also taken advantage from the commentaries of his predecessors in this commentary. Therefore the editor's contention that "sometimes he shows that Udayana's view is untenable and suggests the idea which he thinks more appropriate" [Intro. P. xxi]-requires a little consideration. The learned editor has given two examples to prove his point :—

(i) "Explaining Udayana's view about Vidhi our commentator shows its drawbacks." That Nārāyanatīrtha differs with Udayana is correct, but in doing so, he is only borrowing from Haridāsa Bhaṭṭācārya [c. 1480-1540 A.D.] the writer of Kusumāñjali-Kārikā-Vyākhyā, perhaps the first commentary on the Kārikā portion of NK. [comp. com. on Kārika V-15]:-

— इदमापाततः । वक्तुरभिप्रायो विध्यर्थे........तदा लाघवाद् बलवदनिष्टाननुबन्धीष्टसाधनत्व एव विधिशक्तिरस्तु कृतं प्रयासान्तरेणेति । —नारायणतीर्थ (पृ. ८३)

—वस्तुतस्तु ईश्वरेच्छायाः सर्वविषयकत्वात् निषेधे बाधः बलवदनिष्टाननुबन्धित्वेन इच्छायाः शक्यत्वे गौरवमिति प्राचीनमतमेव साधीयः । (हरिदास भट्टाचार्य, भारतीयविद्याप्रकाशन पृ. २५८)

It seems Nārāyaṇatīrtha is greatly impressed by Haridāsa. A comparative study of the commentories by both of them will show that Nārāyaṇatīrtha sometimes uses the same phrases or words as used by Haridāsa. However the commentory by Nārāyāṇatīrtha is more explicit and comprehensive. In fact his style is that of a veteran teacher who explains every subtelity in a simpler way to his students.

(ii) The editor writes—" It appears from the reference available in NK. (e.g. 2,4) that Udayana believes in the Māyika body of Īśvara. But Nārāyaṇatīrtha makes clear the position of the Nyāya system saying that the Naiyāyikas do not believe in such Māyika body of Īśvara " [Intro. P. xxi]. In support of this statement he quotes

ब्रह्मणो मायिकोऽपि देहो नास्ति......इति नैयायिकानामाशयः (Vide p. 73) ।

Two things are to be considered in this context. First, it does not seem at all from 2,4, that Udayana believes in the Māyika body of Īśvara. Here it is said,

कारं कारमलौकिकाद्भुतमयं मायावशात् संहरन् हारं हारमपीन्द्रजालमिव यः कुर्वन् जगत् क्रीडति ।

Here from the words *māyāvaśāt* and *indrajālamiva* it is difficult to presume that Īśvara has a Māyika body. It shows that Īśvara is the Lord of Māyā by which he plays with the world.

Secondly when Nārāyaṇa refutes the theory of Māyika body of Īśvara, he clearly suggests that it is a theory advocated by an Upaniṣad. Udayana is not in the picture at all. In fact Nārāyaṇa here (P. 73) presents and refutes different views regarding the nature of God, the theory under discussion is one of them.

However this commentory is neatly and very carefully edited from two MSS. It is published for the first time and will be useful to the scholars and students to understand the Kārikas of NK in better perspective. The editor deserves our congratulations for its publication.

VASANT PARIKH

Marāṭhawāḍā Saṃśodhana Maṇḍaḷa, Vārṣika (in Marāṭhī) 1974 : Ed. Pt. S. G. JOSHI; Rāmakrishṇa Rāmachandra Prakāśana, Osmanabad; Pp. 1-324; Price : not mentioned.

The book under review is the Annual Number of the Marāṭhawāḍā Saṃśodhana Maṇḍaḷa (Research Society), being the organ of the Shri Gaṇeśa Library, Shirurtajband, Tah. Ahmadapur, Dist. Osmanabad. It is a collection of articles by various scholars on a variety of topics of their choice. The board of eight editors includes, among others, Shri Narahar Kurundkar, Dr. Y. M. Paṭhāṇ and Shri S. G. Joshi who is also the chief editor. These eight editors belong to different places, and are so distributed as to represent different regions in Marathwada (such as Nanded, Aurangabad, Udgir, Parabhani, Ambejogai and Shirurtajaband); and two are from Poona, but they also originally hail from Marāṭhawāḍā. There are in all 23 articles in this volume. Out of the editors three have contributed articles : Narahar Kurundakar, who has also written the

'Prastāvanā' lauding the effort; the other two are S. V. Chitale and the chief editor. Among other contributors the following are worthy of note: Dr. Mirashi has written on the Purāṇic Family-line of the Sātavāhanas, and has pointed out that caution is necessary in relying too much on the Purāṇic records. A. J. Karandikar has traced the threads of some of the accounts of the Mahābhārata to the Middle eastern countries. S. D. Joshi gives a comparative study of the meaning in a compound and in a dissolutive sentence. Khare and Chitale together write about a rock-edict of Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara. In a separate study Khare has two comments on the statues and the royal insignia from Nāsik. Pohnerkar presents a historical study of two monuments about the worship of the Gaṇeśa idol in the fort of Daulatābād. B. N. Chāpekar traces the history of Ter. Kāḷe deals with the life-history of Swāmī Hamsarājmahārāja. Thiṭe writes about the magic in the Śukla Yajurvada. The article of Dr. Divekar (the late) discussed the problem of the name of the Sundarakāṇḍa; and Dr. G. K. Bhat gives a gist of the Upaniṣadic philosophy. Another notable article is by M. S. Kānaḍe, wherein he studies the Persian words used by the saint Rāmadāsa in his writings. Also may be mentioned the article by D. K. Deśapāṇḍe about the letter of Judgement by Thorale Mādhavrao. The rest of the articles are also informative.

On the whole the volume is informative, though all the articles cannot be said to be "research-articles" as such. There are quite a few points that disturb a critical reader. One is not quite in a position to understand how a review-type article by V. A. Kanole, which takes a survey of the book on the Inscriptions from Nanded District, has been included here, with the title, "New Light on the History of Marāthwāḍā." The proper place for it would have been at the end, in a separate Review-portion; it may be incidentally noted that there is not a single book reviewed; and the Review-type article is totally misfit in the main bulk of the volume (third in order). Likewise, Bhālachandra Phadke's article on the Story-writing of B. Raghunath hardly qualifies for the title "Research," though it may be useful for some readers. One faces the impropriety of the "Prastāvanā" being written by Narhar Kurundkar (famous though he is for his scholarship), when he is already in the board of editors and has contributed an article. The impropriety gets deepened when he (one of the editors and contributors) reviews, praising and also criticising, three of the articles in this collection! One feels the "Prastāvanā" by Kurundkar would have sufficed; and it is also quite guiding. Care has been taken to see that the volume should be free from printing mistakes; yet, the word "Vashistha" (for Vasiṣṭha) pricks (twice at P. 87 in the article by Kurundkar, and once at P. 238 in that of the chief editor). "Golden *Bow*" appears on p. 76 (n.5) in Thite's article, for Golden *Bough*. Is it a printing mistake? At the end of the articles in Marāṭhī, the summaries of all the Marāṭhī articles are given in English (for the benefit of those who do not know Marāṭhī, obviously); and it is quite good. But the repetition of the whole phrase "Marāṭhawāḍā Samśodhan Vārṣika" (in Roman) below each of the titles could have been avoided; for it is well understood. The long space taken by the chief editor himself for his article (?) on the references to other works in the Commentary of Mallinātha indicates too much of a personal projection. This impression gets support from the advertisement on the last cover page, with the title "Our Forth-coming Publication," which are all by the chief editor, Shri S. G. Joshi, and are nine in number!

As more than one-third portion of the total number of pages (from 180 to 288, totalling 108 out of 288), leaving the English Summaries and the Index, has been taken by the chief editor, for his "References and Quotations from the Commentaries of Mallinātha," it will be doing injustice to him not to take a rather detailed note of his contribution, as it appears here. On the face of it, the effort is noteworthy, and there is no doubt that the author has taken pains to prepare his contribution. One does not know, however, if this "article" forms part of his book on Mallinātha (notified in the advertisement on the cover page). As the author does not mention it, it is presumed that this is a fresh contribution, in addition to the book on Mailinātha. Even looking to the expanse of the article, one feels that at least ten more really useful articles could have been adjusted in this space. The foremost thing to be noted about the chief editor's article is that it is hopelessly uncritical, and it is difficult to understand, much less to appreciate the mode of research adopted by the author. The aim, obviously, is to trace out references to the books and works mentioned by Mallinātha in his various commentaries; at least that should be the aim. In that case it is expected that more effort is made to go to the originals and quote the exact verse, the name of the work and that of the author along with the edition. But our author makes a swift and an easy work of the task before him. In quite a large majority of cases, he just does not go beyond Mallinātha himself; and mentions the references *just as they are in the commentary.* Thus, we simply have an entry as Agastya, Ajapāla and so on, without the work or the exact references; because, obviously, he does not find them in the commentary, and has no patience to work hard to hunt out the original. We have Adhikārasūtra, but not the author or the exact detail. This is the method followed throughout; We have in the entry, Ācārya or, in the next entry Ācāryāḥ, and nothing more! Guru and Guravaḥ and no other details. We have simply Āpastamba, but no detail as to whether the author means the Dharmasūtra or the Gṛhyasūtra; in the next entry we have Āpastambīya, and no details. Mallinātha does not give details, as he wrote for traditional readers who probably knew the details. But a scholar who wants to probe the commentaries, has to give these details and go beyond, if he cares to help readers. What is the good of having different entries for Araṇyakāṇḍa (p. 30) and Uttarakāṇḍa (Rāmāyaṇa, p. 35; brackets by the author himself)? Likewise, simply Āśvalāyana (entry 32) and separately Āśvalāyana Gr.S. (entry 33); Uttararāmacarita (En. 35) and, separately, Bhavabhūti (En. 173); Bhārata (En. 180) and, separately, Mahābhārata (En. 192)! This is, obviously, because Mallinātha mentions them differently *at* different commentaries in the flow of his comments. Even Mallinātha's own commentaries are entered here as " works " and as proof of his vast reading. Thus, Kālidāsa-sañjīvanī (it should be Kālidāsa-traya-sañjivanī) is mentioned (En. 55), as Mallinātha refers to it in his Com. on the *Śiśupālavadha*; actually, as is well known, the former is his own com. on the three poems of Kālidāsa. The same is the case with the com. named Ghaṇṭāpatha (En. 85), on the *Kirāta*. The only purpose this type of " research article " would, at the most, serve is to impress upon the readers (of what status?) that the author has read all the commentaries of Mallinatha. The efforts of the author, and the pretty long space dedicated to this study of Mallinātha, could have been really useful with a neat classification and methodical and painstaking research. One is apt to feel that the excellent opportunity and the space has not been utilised in a manner it should have been. It is sincerely desired that the next issue will be more serious rather than merely enthusiastic. The board of editors, which includes such eminent persons as Narahar Kurundakar, will, without doubt, see to it that the proportions and the quality of the articles are well maintained.

With whatever that has been said about the methodology in the volume, one thing has to be stressed. The effort is full and the information diverse. The editors, and specially the chief editor (Shri S. G. Joshi) who appears to be the main inspiration behind the volume, surely deserve our commendations for bringing out the volume in a likable and an attractive form.

Sadashiv A. Dange

OBITUARY

Professor Kashinath Vasudev Abhyankar

b. 7-8-1890] [d. 1-12-1976

In the early hours of Wednesday night, 1st December, 1976, Prof. K. V. Abhyankar " the most authoritative among the grammarians active in India " (Ojihara) was murdered in a gruesome manner, along with Mrs. Abhyankar, two young and promising grand children and an aged servant who served the family all her life, in the bungalow of his son Shri G. K. Abhyankar, a retired financial adviser to the Government of India, near Bhandarkar Institute, Pune (Maharashtra). Indologists and serious students of *Vyākaraṇaśāstra* in India and the West were shocked at this strange and cruel vagary of Destiny.

Prof. Abhyankar was born on 7th August 1890 in the famous Abhyankar family of Satara. His father the great doyen of grammarians in India was the well-known Vasudev Shastri Abhyankar who translated Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* and wrote a number of original works in Sanskrit. Before he was sixteen Prof. Abhyankar mastered all the difficult ancient works of Sanskrit Grammar. During his studies he secured all available prizes for Sanskrit in all the University examinations upto M.A. He studied under his father and also under their famous teacher Ramashastri Godbole. He was seventh in the line of pupils after Nāgeśa. (Nāgeśa, Pāyaguṇḍe Nīlakaṇṭha Śāstrī, Bhāskara Śāstrī, Rāma Śāstrī, Vāsudeva Śāstrī and Kāśinātha Śāstrī).

Before he obtained his M.A. degree of Bombay University he was appointed, on the recommendation of Sir R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar, as Professor of Sanskrit in Gujarat College, a Government College, at Ahmedabad in 1912. Prof. A. B. Dhruva the then Senior Professor of Sanskrit in Gujarat College asked the students to taket he advantage of " this young and enthusiastic Shastri ". In 1919 he became the head of the department of Sanskrit in Gujarat College and served there till his retirement in 1945. During his service he never requested for a casual leave. He frankly and fearlessly expressed his opinions before the English principals of the college.

During the early years of his teaching career he published English translations of and original commentaries in Sanskrit on a number of dramas of Bhāsa, Viśākhadatta, Bhavabhūti and others and edited Prakrit works like *Kūrmāputracaritra*, *Daśavaikālikasūtra*, *Viṁśātiviṁśatikā*, *Bhairavapadmāvatīkalpa* and wrote glosses in Sankrit on portions of *Śāṅkarabhāṣya*. He was first to start teaching of *Ardhamāgadhi* at collegiate level in Gujarat and shouldered the responsibility of teaching the subject himself when the government refused to sanction an additional lecturer for *Ardhamāgadhī*. At the instance of his teacher Prof. Pānshe he concentrated on furthering his Śāstric studies and discontinued the translation work.

After retirement from government service at Gujarat College he continued for a decade, as honorary Professor at Vidyāsabhā in Ahmedabad. Many of the College and University teachers of Sanskrit at present in Gujarat and Maharashtra received his guidance for their research. After 1955 he permanently settled at Poona, his home town, and was actively associated with Tilaka Vidyāpīṭha, Ānandāśram Sanskrit Series, D. E. Society, Poona University and Bhāṇḍārkar Research Institute. The research and publication activities of these institutions greatly expanded and improved under his guidance. He was Chairman of the Executive Board of Bhāṇḍārkar Institute, Pune.

Like an ancient *ṛṣi* this great scholar loved his students irrespective of their caste, religion or nationality. Many scholars from West learnt *Vyākaraṇa* at his feet whenever they came to Poona. While teaching he explored the topic under discussion from all possible angles and this immensely added to the knowledge of his students.

Simple living, devoted to teaching and research results in a long and healthy life-span. This was proved by his normal health even at the age of eighty-seven. Lately his eyesight was proving unfaithful to him, yet he continued his work with the help of magnifying glasses.

His research activities were varied and embraced many fields of Sanskrit and Indology. While supervising the publication of his father's Marathi translation of *Mahābhāṣya* he wrote an extensive account on the development of Pāṇini's Grammar in Marathi, viz. *Mahābhāṣya prastāvanā khaṇḍa*, Vol. 7. The work is an excellent help to serious scholars desirous of studying Pāṇini's Grammar, as Goldstucker's '*Pāṇini*' and Belvalkar's "*Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*" are no longer useful on account of their meagre information. He continued his research in *Vyākaraṇa śāstra* and published *Vākyapadīya* of Bhartṛhari, in collaboration with *Ācārya* V. P. Limaye and English translation of *Mahābhāṣya Āhnikas* 1-3, with Prof. J. M. Shukla. His another important work is Bhartṛhari's '*Mahābhāṣyadīpikā*', which he edited, with *Ācārya* V. P. Limaye, with the help of a single, corrupt manuscript. The work being extremely difficult was abandoned by Pt. Brahmadatta Jijñāsu and imperfectly done up to four *Āhnikas* by Shri Swāmināthan. This work opens up vast areas for research and study of *Mahābhāṣya*. His another excellent work is "*A dictionary of Sanskrit Grammar*" published by Oriental Institute, Baroda. The work is presently being republished by Dr. A. N. Jani, Director Oriental Institute, Baroda. It is a great reference help to serious students of Sanskrit Grammar. His *magnum opus* is yet another work "*Paribhāṣāsaṁgraha*" wherein he collected for the first time about a dozen standard *Paribhāṣā* works beginning from Vyāḍi's '*Paribhāṣāsūcana*'. It will provide important research material to a number of scholars engaged in research in *Vyākaraṇa*.

On account of his extensive interests in Sanskrit learning, he edited '*Śāktadarśana*' of Hayagrīva and '*Upadeśasūtra*' of Jaimini adding original commentaries in Sanskrit and detailed introductions in English. He reedited two important works edited by Keilhorn, viz. *Mahābhāṣya* and *Paribhāṣenduśekhara* and incorporated an excellent Sanskrit commentary by the late Vāsudeva Śāstrī Abhyankar and a scholarly introduction in the latter work. His '*Fundamentals of Sanskrit Grammar,*' '*Vikṛtivallilakṣaṇasaṁgraha*' (a collection of eight ancient works on modes of Vedic recitation, like *Vikṛtivalli* of Vyāḍi, '*Padagāḍha,*' '*Opalekhasūtra,*' '*Svarāṅkuśa śikṣā*' and so on) are in press.

During the last few years he was engaged in Vedic studies and research in topics like Vedic grammar and Vedic recital. While examining Rev. Estreller's theory on *Ṛgveda* ('Palimpsest theory') he was attracted to the intricacies of *Saṃhitāpāṭha* and *padapāṭha* of *Ṛgveda* and started interpreting *Ṛgveda* in the context of the peculiarities of *padapāṭha*.

The President of India conferred National Sanskrit Pandit Award on him in 1969. For his profound scholarship he received a number of other awards.

Every moment of his life was given to Sanskrit Learning and *Vyākaraṇa* studies. May the soul of this great savant rest in peace.

J. M. SHUKLA

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